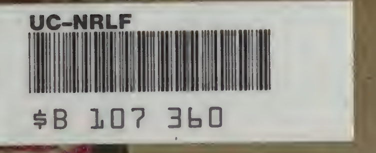
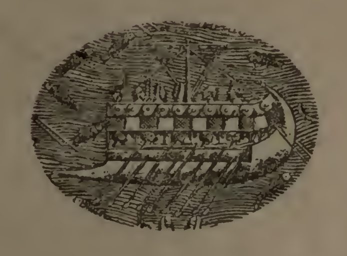


THE SHIP "TYRE"

A SYMBOL OF THE FATE OF CONQUERORS
AS PROPHESIED BY ISAIAH, EZEKIEL AND JOHN
AND FULFILLED AT NINEVEH, BABYLON AND ROME

A STUDY IN THE COMMERCE OF THE BIBLE

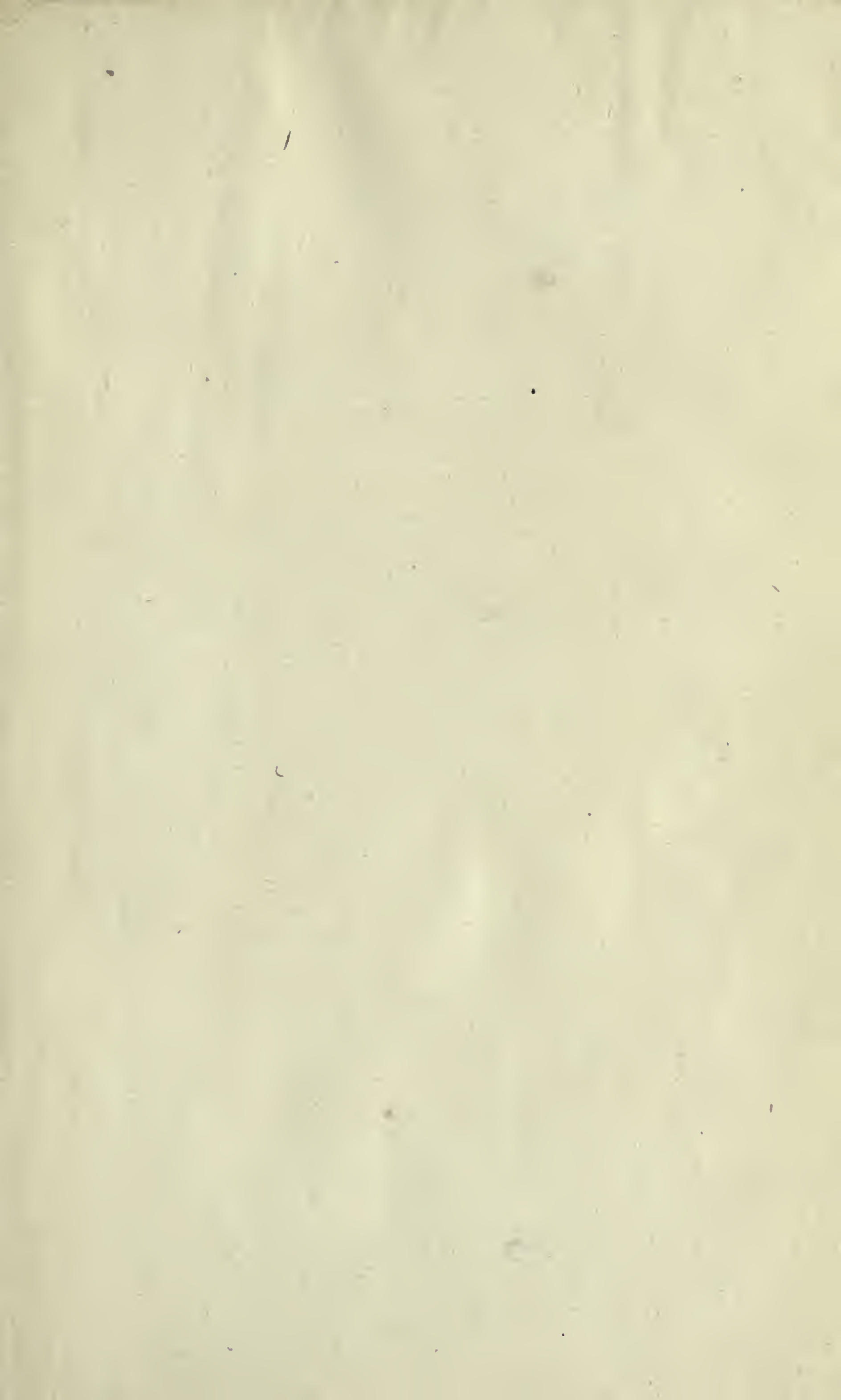


BY

WILFRED H. SCHOFF

Secretary of the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia

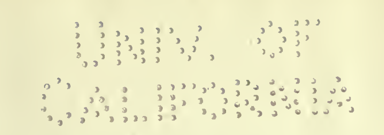
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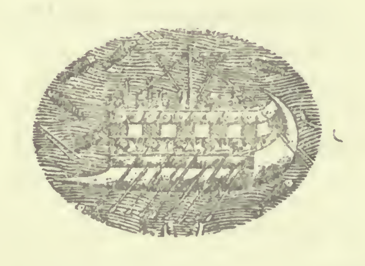




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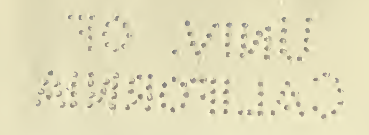


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WILFRED H. SCHOFF

Secretary of the Commercial M[illegible], Philadelphia

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The design on the title-page is from the relief of a Phoenician ship built at the head of the Persian Gulf for the campaign of Sennacherib against Elam; excavated by Layard upon the site of Nineveh.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

FOREWORD

The dooms of the ship "Tyre" and of the "king of Tyre" are pronounced in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of the book of the prophet Ezekiel.

The cargo of the ship consists of the materials of the temple and palace at Jerusalem, carried to Babylon, with a people captive and their ruler blinded, by the soldiers of king Nebuchadrezzar; the ship herself is a symbol of Babylon, as repository of the ravished treasure; and the "king of Tyre" is given boundaries that mark him as none other than the ruthless ruler of Babylon.

By such devices did the prophet of the captivity give heart to his people, where plain speech must have been disastrous:

> "Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought, . . .
> For a bird of the air shall carry the voice."

Thus interpreted, these chapters become a political document intensely real in its assertion of civil right against the oppressor, and in its promise of the fate that awaits the conqueror, be he Sennacherib or Nebuchadrezzar, Antiochus or Titus, Attila or Hohenzollern.

> "If any man have an ear, let him hear:
> He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity."

It is a document to which almost every passage in the Bible, wherein materials of commerce are mentioned, is directly related. It was, no doubt, this device of expressing defiance of unrighteous political power by a Code of Substituted Names which led also to the elaborate numerical code that is apparent

in the later Jewish and early Christian writings; whereof a typical instance is the "number of the beast" which signifies the Emperor Nero in the Apocalypse.

Ship and cargo, king and boundaries were discussed by me before the American Oriental Society at its meeting of 1919, and are set forth, with some amplification and the necessary evidence, in the present volume.

My gratitude for helpful suggestions is expressed to Dr. James Alan Montgomery, Professor in the University of Pennsylvania, and to Dr. George William Gilmore, Editor of the *Homiletic Review*, New York.

WILFRED H. SCHOFF.

The Commercial Museum
Philadelphia
January 1, 1920

Quinquireme of Nineveh from distant Ophir,
Rowing home to haven in sunny Palestine,
With a cargo of ivory,
And apes and peacocks,
Sandalwood, cedarwood, and sweet white wine.

(From *Cargoes;* Collected Poems by John Masefield
The Macmillan Co., publishers)

THE SHIP "TYRE"

The position of Palestine at the meeting-point of two ancient trade-routes, that between the Nile and the Euphrates, and that between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean coasts, enabled its inhabitants always to be familiar with the facts of international trade, and under favorable conditions to share in its benefits. But as the cities of Palestine were located inland and its rulers never, except for brief periods, dominated the shores of the Mediterranean or of the Red Sea, it was only through commercial alliances with neighboring peoples that their commercial strength could be developed. Broken alliances or internal division meant cessation of trade and aggression from more powerful neighbors. In the records of Palestine we do not find, therefore, any consecutive series of commercial documents, such as those of Egypt and Babylonia, but only an occasional picture. It is evident also that some of the most detailed of these records that appear in the Old Testament and are summarized in the New, are strictly speaking, not records of trade at all, but symbolic geographical pictures of tabernacle, temple, and palace, of the institutions of priesthood and princedom; the symbolism being due in part to the avoidance of direct mention of sacred things, and in part to the danger of predicting harm that is to befall a triumphant and vindictive enemy. These passages form a tradition. They must be considered, not separately, but together.

I

The basis of the tradition is found in the specifications for the tabernacle, "written by Moses as the words of the Lord",[1] according to which Moses took of the children of Israel as an offering to the Lord the following items:[2]

Gold, silver and brass

Blue, purple and scarlet, and fine linen

Goats' hair, rams' skins dyed red, and sealskins

Acacia-wood

Oil for the light

Spices for the anointing oil, and for the sweet incense

Shoham stones, and stones to be set, for the ephod and for the breastplate.

Of these substances the tabernacle and its equipment were made; and as the specifications were written in the Law, and were generally familiar, it may be assumed that mention of them implied a suggestion of the tabernacle itself, and of all that it represented.

The ark was made of acacia-wood and gold,[3] with ark-cover and two cherubim of gold.

The table, of acacia-wood and gold. Its dishes, pans, jars and bowls were of gold. On the table, the showbread, twelve loaves.[4]

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[1] Ex. XXIV, 4
[2] Ex. XXV, 3-7
[3] Ex. XXV, 10-16
[4] Ex. XXV, 23-30

The candlestick, the seven lamps, their tongs and snuffdishes, were of gold.[5]

The curtains of the tabernacle were of fine twined linen, blue, purple and scarlet, and their clasps of gold.[6]

The tent over the tabernacle was of goats' hair, with clasps of brass.[7]

The covering for the tent was of rams' skins dyed red, with an outer covering of sealskins.[8]

The boards for the tabernacle were of acacia-wood. They were overlaid with gold, and they had sockets of silver.[9]

The veil was of blue, purple and scarlet, and fine twined linen. It was hung on pillars of acacia, with hooks of gold, and sockets of silver.[10]

The screen for the door was of blue, purple and scarlet, and fine twined linen. It was hung on pillars of acacia, with hooks of gold, and sockets of brass.[11]

The altar was of acacia, overlaid with brass. Its pots, shovels, basins, flesh-hooks and fire-pans, its grating with rings, were of brass.[12]

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[5] Ex. XXV, 31-40 [6] Ex. XXVI, 1-6 [7] Ex. XXVI, 7-11:— Rabbinical interpretation, "badger skins", as to which the Talmud gives the following rather unconvincing explanation: The badger, as it existed in the days of Moses, was an animal of unique type, and the learned are not agreed whether it was a wild one or a domestic. It had only one horn on its forehead; and was assigned for the time to Moses, who made a covering of its skin for the tabernacle; after which it became extinct, having served the purpose of its existence. Rabbi Yehudah says, The ox, also, which the first man, Adam, sacrificed had but one horn on its forehead. (Shabbath, 28, 2)

[8] Ex. XXVI, 14 [10] Ex. XXVI, 31-33 [12] Ex. XXVII, 1-8; anachronistic?

[9] Ex. XXVI, 15-30 [11] Ex. XXVI, 36-37

The hangings for the court of the tabernacle were of fine twined linen; they were hung on pillars of acacia, with hooks of silver, and sockets of brass.[13]

The screen for the gate of the court was of blue, purple and scarlet, and fine twined linen, hung on pillars of acacia, with hooks of silver, and sockets of brass.[14]

A lamp was to burn continually in the tent of meeting, for which was to be brought "pure olive oil beaten for the light."[15]

The garments for the priest were breastplate, ephod, robe, tunic, mitre and girdle.[16]

The ephod was of gold, of blue, purple and scarlet, and fine twined linen. It was fastened by shoulder-pieces in which were set two *shoham* stones, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, six on each stone.[17]

The breastplate was of gold, of blue, purple and scarlet, and fine twined linen. It was set with four rows of stones, three stones in each row, each stone being engraved with the name of one of the tribes of Israel. Behind[18] the breastplate were put the Urim and Thummim.[19]

The robe of the ephod was all of blue. On the skirts were pomegranates of blue, purple and scarlet, and bells of gold.[20]

The tunic was woven of fine linen, in chequer work.[21]

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[13]Ex. XXVII, 9-10
[14]Ex. XXVII, 16-17
[15]Ex. XXVII, 20-21
[16]Ex. XXVIII, 4-5
[17]Ex. XXVIII, 6-12
[18]Rather than "within," as AV, etc. Cf. Carus, *The Oracle of Yahveh*, p. 20.)
[19]Ex. XXVIII, 15-30
[20]Ex. XXVIII, 31-35
[21]Ex. XXVIII, 39

The mitre was of fine linen, and upon it, on a lacing of blue, was a plate of gold, on which was engraved: "Holy to the Lord."[22]

The girdle was woven in colors.[23]

At the consecration of the priests there were offerings of bullock and rams, with unleavened bread, cakes unleavened mingled with oil, and wafers unleavened spread with oil. These were made of fine wheaten flour.[24]

Upon the altar were offered two lambs day by day, for a burnt-offering. With them were fine flour mingled with oil for a meal-offering, and wine for a drink-offering.[25]

There was an altar to burn incense upon, of acacia-wood and gold.[26]

Between the tent of meeting and the altar was a laver of brass.[27]

The holy anointing oil was compounded of "the chief spices", flowing myrrh, sweet cinnamon, sweet calamus, cassia; and olive oil.[28]

The incense was compounded of spices—storax, onycha, galbanum; with pure frankincense.[29]

Such were the materials used for the construction of the tabernacle, and for its adornment, service, and ritual.[30] While they entered into the commerce of the period many other things entered also into that commerce; and a list of these materials suggests, not commerce in itself, but the tabernacle and the institution of priesthood.

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[22]Ex. XXVIII, 36-39
[23]Ex. XXVIII, 39
[24]Ex. XXIX, 1-2, 10-27
[25]Ex. XXIX, 38-42
[26]Ex. XXX, 1-3
[27]Ex. XXX, 17-21 anachronistic?
[28]Ex. XXX, 23-25
[29]Ex. XXX, 34-35:— Magil's text
[30]Ex. XXXV-XXXVIII, also Num. II, IV.

II

While the tribes of Israel were wandering in the wilderness, they gained a victory over the Midianites, and the command was laid upon Moses that the spoil might be retained if purified. This was done by passing through the fire, and then sprinkling with water, the gold, silver, brass, iron, tin, and lead. Whatever could not endure the fire was passed through water: garments, and things of skin, goats' hair, and wood. A definite proportion was then fixed, of the shares of the spoil to be set aside, to the warriors; to the rest of the people; as the Lord's tribute; and for the Levites.[1]

The spoil included persons (young maidens only), beeves, asses, and sheep.[2]

The officers who had taken booty brought, as an offering to make atonement, jewels of gold, armlets, bracelets, signet-rings, ear-rings, and girdles.[3]

To the priests and the Levites were reserved tithes of the oil, and the wine, and the wheat, and the firstfruits of cow, sheep, and goat, "and of whatsoever is first ripe." This was their reward for service in the tabernacle.[4]

[1] Num. XXXI, 21-24
[2] Num. XXXI, 28-47
[3] Num. XXXI, 48-54
[4] Num. XVIII, 11-13, 31; Deut. XIV, 22-29

Failure to yield up spoil or tithe due to the priesthood was a sin against the Lord.[5] Among the spoil of another battle was a "goodly Shinar mantle", which one Achan coveted, and hid in the earth under his tent, together with one hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels weight. The anger of the Lord being kindled, Joshua succeeded in obtaining a confession, and recovered the spoil. Thereupon the guilty man, his sons and daughters, oxen and asses, sheep, tent and all that he had, were stoned and burned, and the Lord thereby turned from the fierceness of his anger.[6]

This tribal division was not observed by the Israelites only. In the Song of Deborah we are told how an enemy had expected to deal with them:

> 'Are they not finding, are they not dividing the spoil?
> A damsel, two damsels to every man;
> To Sisera a spoil of dyed garments,
> A spoil of dyed garments of embroidery,
> Two dyed garments of broidery for the neck of every spoiler."[7]

Use of the spoil in irregular ceremonial was held a sin. Gideon, after his victory over the Midianite kings, Zebah and Zalmunna, refused to rule over Israel—"the Lord shall rule

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[5]Cf. the tribute of Ramses III to Amon-Re, (Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, 126):

"The king himself, presenting the tribute to Amon from the great chiefs of every country, being: silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, all (kinds of) costly stones without limit, from the booty which his majesty carried off, from that which his valiant sword captured; placed before (his) august father, Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, according as he gave to (him) all valor."

[6] Josh. VII, 10-26 [7] Judg. V, 28-30

over you"—but requested as spoil the ear-rings taken. He received in golden ear-rings seventeen hundred shekels, "beside the crescents, pendants and purple raiment, and the chains about the camels' necks." But he made an ephod thereof, and put it in his city, "which thing became a snare unto Gideon, and to his house."[8]

Through this division of the spoil all Israel profited by a victory:

> Ye daughters of Israel, weep over Saul,
> Who clothed you in scarlet, with other delights,
> Who put ornaments of gold upon your apparel.
> How are the mighty fallen in the midst of the battle![9]

And the list of the things to be purified and divided became traditional: "as they gather silver and brass and iron and lead and tin into the midst of the furnace, to blow the fire upon it, to melt it; so will I gather you in Mine anger and in My fury, and I will cast you in, and melt you."[10]

A list of these materials suggests, not spoil in itself, but the relation of the people to the priesthood, and the favor of the Lord thereby promised them.

[8] Judg. VIII, 22-27 [9] 2 Sam. I, 24 [10] Ezek. XXII, 20

III

When the Israelites had established a united kingdom, thus entering into political and commercial relations with their larger and wealthier neighbors, they found their tabernacle unsuited to the new prosperity. David assembled the princes and the captains, the rulers and the mighty men, and said to them that it had been in his heart to build a house of rest for the ark of the covenant, but that as a man of war who had shed blood, God had forbidden him to do so, and had chosen Solomon his son "to sit upon the throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel." Then David gave to Solomon ("in writing, as the Lord hath made me wise by His hand upon me") the patterns of everything for the temple; vessels of gold, vessels of silver, candlesticks and lamps of gold and silver, golden tables of show-bread, tables of silver; flesh-hooks, basins, jars, and bowls of gold; bowls of silver; golden altar of incense; golden chariot, the cherubim that spread out their wings and covered the ark. David called upon the people willingly to consecrate themselves to the work, and himself gave the things which he had prepared.[1]

David's gifts included gold, silver, brass, iron and wood; *shoham* stones; stones to be set, glistering and of divers colors; all manner of precious stones; marble stones in abundance. He gave also his personal treasure; gold of Ophir three

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[1] 1 Chron. XXVIII, 1-3, 9-19: XXIX, 1-2

thousand talents, and refined silver seven thousand talents.[2]

Solomon, after he had succeeded to the throne, sent to Hiram king of Tyre, who was "ever a lover of David", saying that David could not build the house "for the wars which were about him on every side", but that the Lord had now given him rest on every side, and he purposed to build the house.[3]

The resources of Israel being inadequate to the plan of the building, Solomon arranged for the supply of labor and materials from Phoenicia. For the workmen he gave large allowances of wheat and barley, wine and oil. From Hiram he received cedar and cypress from Lebanon, rafted down by sea; and "great stones, costly stones, to lay the foundation of the house with hewn stone."[4]

The floors were of cypress. The walls were of cedar, richly carved. The altar was of cedar, overlaid with gold. The cherubim were of olive-wood, overlaid with gold. The wall-carvings were of cherubim, palm-trees and flowers. The doors of the sanctuary were of olive-wood, overlaid with gold. At the entrance of the temple were door-posts and frame of olive-wood, with folding doors of cypress. The inner court was built with hewn stone and cedar beams. All the foundations were of costly stones, "even great stones, stones of ten cubits." Above were costly stones, "after the measure of hewn

[2] 1 Chron. XXIX, 3-4 [3] 1 Kings V, 16-19

[4] 1 Kings V, 21-31; 2 Chron. II, 2-15: the chronicler has evidently exaggerated the gold.

stones," and cedar-wood. The veil was of blue, purple and crimson, and fine linen. Before the entrance were two great brazen pillars. The altar was of brass, also the molten sea, standing upon twelve figures of oxen; and the smaller lavers. The pots, shovels, basins and bowls were of bright brass, cast in Jordan clay. Candlesticks and lamps, altar of incense, tables for showbread, tongs, snuffers and pans, were of gold. The whole house was overlaid with gold, and "garnished with precious stones for beauty."[5]

For the service and ritual of the temple, no less than its adornment, there were required on an unprecedented scale materials not produced in Palestine or Syria; gold, incense, spices and precious stones, and fine fabrics.[6]

The royal palace was built magnificently, like the temple. There was a great throne of ivory, overlaid with gold. Two lions stood beside the arms. It had six steps, with twelve lions, six on either side. The drinking-vessels, and all the other vessels, were of gold; nothing was of silver, "it was nothing accounted of." All the other kings came bearing gifts, vessels of silver and of gold, raiment, armor, spices, horses and mules, a rate year by year.[7]

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[5] 1 Kings VI, 14-36; 2 Chron. III, 3-16, IV, 1-22

[6] 1 Kings X, 18-20, 23-25; 2 Chron. IX, 17-20, 23-24

[7] Cf. Inscription of Ramses III in the Medinet Habu temple, (Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, 190)

"I filled its treasury with the products of the lands of Egypt: gold, silver, every costly stone by the hundred-thousand. Its granary was overflowing with barley and wheat; (its) lands, its herds, their multitudes were like the sand of the shore. I taxed for it the Southland as well as the Northland. Nubia and Zahi (came) to it,

The royal army was enlarged by the addition of chariots and cavalry. Solomon had one thousand four hundred chariots, and twelve thousand horsemen, bestowed in the chariot cities and in Jerusalem. Horses were bought in Egypt and of the men of Keveh, at one hundred and fifty shekels of silver each. Chariots were bought in Egypt at six hundred shekels of silver each. They were received also as gifts from neighboring kings.[8]

These lists of the royal equipment became traditional, and mention of their principal items suggests, not palace or army in themselves, but the institution of royalty, the "throne of the kingdom of the Lord over Israel."

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bearing their impost. It was filled with captives, which thou gavest to me among the Nine Bows, (and with) classes which I trained by the ten-thousand. I fashioned thy great statue resting in its midst; "Amon-Endowed-with-Eternity" was its august name; it was adorned with real costly stone like the horizon. When it appeared, there was rejoicing to see it. I made for it table-vessels, of fine gold; others of silver and copper, without number. I multiplied the divine offerings presented before thee, of bread, wine, beer, and fat geese; numerous oxen, bullocks, calves, cows, white oryxes, and gazelles offered in his slaughter yard."

[8] 1 Kings X, 26-29; 2 Chron. IX, 25-28

IV

To the maintenance of the temple and its services, of the palace and the army, foreign trade was essential. The things needed were bought by the king's merchants at a price; they came as gifts or tribute from other kings; in larger measure they were brought by the queen of Sheba; but for an assured supply an organized traffic was necessary. The problem was solved by the Ophir voyages. In their day these voyages played a part similar to that of the Portuguese voyages to India; but it is unlikely that their destination lay outside Arabia or the Horn of Africa, notwithstanding some of the cargo may have come from more distant lands. The economic conditions that led to this enterprise may be sought in Arabia itself.

Gold, spices, incense and precious stones were chiefly in demand. Gold was produced in abundance in the mountains and valleys of central Arabia. Gems came from the same mountains, and from far-away Media, Badakshan, Malabar and Ceylon. Spices were produced on the slopes of the mountains of southern Arabia, in Somaliland and Socotra, Malabar and Ceylon. It is unnecessary here to determine whether Solomon's kingdom drew upon lands beyond Arabia for its supplies. Whatever their sources, they were transported over the Arabian caravan-routes, and monopolistic practice by the tribes of Arabia was the cause of con-

stant friction and of frequent warfare, wherein Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Assyria and Babylonia were all at various times involved.

A photographic glimpse is preserved to us of a "caravan of Ishmaelites coming down from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery, balm and ladanum", to whom Joseph was sold to be carried as a slave to Egypt.[1] Another stage on the route was the "land of Havilah, where there is gold; and the gold of that land is good; there is *bdolakh* and the *shoham* stone."[2] David gave gold of Ophir,[3] and the ships of Solomon and Hiram went to Ophir for gold;[4] but the gold they brought back was gold of Parvaim,[5] which is Sak el Farwain, near the Wadi er Rumma and west of Rass in central Arabia.[6] Ophir appears as a son of Joktan,[7] obviously a coast-land. It was Glaser's conclusion that Ophir was the coast of the Persian Gulf, especially the central portion where the caravan-route terminated, and that the gold came from the central mountains. He gives out of Hamdani's Jezirat a list of ten gold-fields, all important, and all within reach of the north-south and the east-west caravan-

[1] Gen. XXXVII, 25-28 [3] 1 Chron. XXIX, 4 [5] 2 Chron. III, 6
[2] Gen. II, 11-12 [4] 2 Chron. VIII, 17-18
[6] Glaser, Skizze, 347-350 [7] Gen. X, 29

The Talmud notes the following kinds of gold: Rav Chisda said there are seven kinds of gold: gold, good gold, the gold of Ophir, purified gold, beaten gold, shut-up gold, and gold of Parvaim. (Yoma, 44,2) "Shut-up-gold", I Kings VI, 21, was the rarest, so that when it appeared in market, all shops shut up, for there could be no sale of other gold before that.

routes. *Shoham*, and other gems specified for the priests' adornment, came from the same mountains. Pearl, for *bdolakh*, seems preferable to the bdellium of the English versions. The meaning of the Hebrew word is "precious"; in a similar passage in Ezekiel a word meaning "costly" is rendered as coral where the same substance is implied, and in a parallel passage in the Apocalypse it appears as pearl.[8]

There are indications that the South Arabian combination known as Sheba was on unfriendly terms with the tribes of the central west, the Medina region, who had long controlled access to the mineral wealth of the Yemama; that they had established rival outposts in that region; and that they were endeavoring to develop a trade independently of the Ishmaelites. Such trade might go eastward to the gulf of El Katan, northeastward to the mouth of the Euphrates, or southwestward to Sheba. To reach Egypt or Palestine from either Sheba or Havilah it must go by sea, and timber for shipbuilding was scarce in Arabia. But ships carried more cargo, and at less cost, than camel caravans; and they avoided the exactions of intermediate peoples. Hence the Egyptian Punt expeditions, the Phoenician voyaging along the Arabian coasts, the piratical policy of the Mecca coast-land,[9] and the various enmities that culminated in

[8] Bdellium is *Balsamodendron mukul;* myrrh is *Balsamodendron myrrha.* Bdellium is inferior to myrrh.

[9] Cf. Periplus, 20: Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, II, 287: "incense was brought from one to another, as a return for many payments."

Trajan's conquest and destruction of the Nabataeans, "robber barons" in their day; and in the forced migration of the Abyssinians from their home in the South Arabian incense-land to the table-land of Africa. It is of interest that the rulers of Abyssinia still claim descent from the queen of Sheba who visited Solomon.

There is no need to seek for Ophir beyond Arabia, and we may safely ignore as fanciful, its identifications with Sofala in Rhodesia, with Sovira in India, or, as Josephus would have it, with "the land that of old was called Ophir, but now the Golden Chersonese."[10]

The queen of Sheba brought to Solomon "a hundred and twenty talents of gold, and of spices very great store, and precious stones; there came no more such abundance of spices as these which the queen of Sheba gave to king Solomon."[11] Here we have, clearly, products of both central and southern Arabia, and indication of South Arabian power at that time, desirous of direct relations with peoples dwelling beyond the rival power in West Arabia.

The accounts of the Ophir voyages are not entirely consistent, and the text has, perhaps, gathered in some later, and mistaken, commentary. But there is no reason to doubt that the voyages were made. Egyptian ships went to the "land of Punt" in the reign of Sahure, (28th century B. C.) and brought back myrrh.

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[10] Antiq. Jud. VIII, 2. Glaser (Skizze, 378) suggests affinity between אופר and ἤπειρος, coast.

[11] 1 Kings X, 1-13: 2 Chron. IX, 19.

The great expedition of Queen Hatshepsut (15th century B. C.) brought back "fragrant woods, myrrh resin, fresh myrrh trees, ebony, ivory, green gold, cinnamon wood, khesyt wood, ihmut incense, sonter incense, eye cosmetic, apes, monkeys, dogs, panther skins, natives and their children." Incense-trees were planted in the court of the temple (Karnak), "heaven and earth were flooded with incense; odors are in the great house; the heart of Amon was made glad." In the reign of Ramses III (12th century B. C.) Amon opened "the ways of Punt; the Sand-dwellers came bowing down to thy name"; and that Pharaoh endowed Amon with "gold, silver, lapis lazuli, malachite, precious stones, copper, garments of royal linen, jars, fowl, myrrh, white incense, cinnamon, and incense" (stored, of necessity, in a special Incense House).[12]

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[12] Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, I, 161; II, 246-295; IV, 407.

The fresh trees from Punt, which Breasted renders as myrrh, appear in the inscriptions at Deir-el-Bahri, and clearly enough, in the writer's judgment, to be recognized as frankincense trees. In this opinion he is supported by Dr. B. L. Robinson of the Gray Herbarium at Harvard. Myrrh, with its rudimentary clover-shaped leaves, they certainly were not.

Dr. Breasted informs me, however, that the translation rests chiefly on Greek sources and may be incorrect, and that the Egyptian word may be no more than a current commercial term for a group of fragrant gums or resins. The Egyptian word is *'ntyw*.

Whether the substance translated "cinnamon wood" was the true cinnamon may be doubted. Dr. Breasted informs me that the word designates nothing more than a wood or bark of fragrance or agreeable taste. The Egyptian word is *tyspsy* which is from the root *spsy* meaning to sweeten.

Solomon and Hiram were associated in the Ophir voyages. According to the account on Kings,

> King Solomon made a navy of ships in Ezion-Geber, which is beside Eloth, on the shore of the Red Sea, in the land of Edom. And Hiram sent in the navy his servants, shipmen that had knowledge of the sea, with the servants of Solomon. And they came to Ophir, and fetched from thence gold, four hundred and twenty talents, and brought it to king Solomon.[13]

The account in Chronicles varies only as to the size of the cargo, which it states as four hundred and fifty talents. So far there is no occasion for inquiry.

The second section of the story is to the effect that

> The navy also of Hiram, that brought gold from Ophir, brought in from Ophir great plenty of almug trees, and precious stones. And the king made of the almug trees pillars for the house of the Lord, and for the king's house, harps also and psalteries for the singers; there came no such almug trees, nor were seen unto this day.[14]

The account in Chronicles calls them "algum trees", and says that they were used for "paths", not pillars; referring to the inclined ramps by which the temple was approached.[15] But the LXX knows neither almug nor algum; in Kings

[13] 1 Kings IX, 26-28: 2 Chron. VIII, 17-18

[14] 1 Kings X, 11-12: 2 Chron. IX, 10-11. Glaser (Skizze 358-366) identifies the *algum* with *ushu* of the Assyrian inscriptions from which was made the balm that the Chinese knew as *su-ho*; but this was styrax or liquidambar, and grew in Palestine, so that there would have been no occasion to ship it from the Persian Gulf.

[15] Almug trees, אלמנים
Algum trees, אלגומים
Pillars, *ὑποστηρίγματα* מסעד Gesenius gives "support, balustrade" from סעד. Paths, *ἀναβάσεις* מסלות, Gesenius "stairs" (better, ramps) from סלם.

it says merely "squared timbers",[16] and in Chronicles "pine timbers";[17] and elsewhere in Chronicles algum, cedar and cypress are said to have been rafted down from Lebanon.[18] The word is of foreign origin, probably Tamil; but it seems to have crept into the text at a later date, when the Indian wood had become familiar, and when its name had been applied to similar domestic woods. Mookerji suggests the *aghil* of Malabar[19] (*Chickrassia tabularis*, Chittagong wood, or white cedar), a fine wood for furniture, yielding a transparent gum, and astringent bark, and flowers from which red and yellow dyes are made. But there is no evidence of its exportation from India until recent times. It is more probable that the *name* was derived from the wood known in Pali as *laghu*, Sanskrit *agaru*,[20] (*Aquilaria agallocha*) the aloe (Hebr. *ahalim*) of Prov. VII, 17, which in Numbers XXIV, 6, is associated with cedar.[21] The wood of this tree is of less value than the gum, which was used medicinally and as a perfume, and is still used largely in China for incense and joss-sticks. The *wood* to which this passage refers may have been the sanders or red sandal-wood of South

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[16] *ξύλα πελεκητά*: Vulg. ligna thyina: 1 Kings X, 11.

[17] *ξύλα πεύκινα*: Vulg. ligna thyina: 2 Chron. IX, 10-11.

[18] *ξύλα κέδρινα καὶ ἀρκεύθινα καὶ πεύκινα*: Vulg. ligna cedrina et arceutina et pinea: 2 Chron. II, 7. Cedar, fir and algum, ארזים, ברושים, אלגומים.

[19] Hist. of Indian Shipping, 93.

[20] Absent from the LXX: Vulg. aloe. Some such form as *lagu-im* might readily become *algum*.

[21] LXX, *σκηναὶ, κέδροι* : Vulg. Tabernacula, cedri.
Aloe, אהלים (Prov. VII, 17) LXX, *κινναμώμῳ*.
Lign aloes, cedar, בארזים , באהלים Num. XXIV, 6.

India (*Pterocarpus santalinus*), used for dyeing leather and staining wood, and in India for marking idols and staining the forehead in caste-markings. The wood is used for house-posts, plough-poles and implements, and for carved work, idols, boxes and picture-frames.[22] The JR renders it as "sandal-wood." The true sandal-wood (*Santalum album*, Sanskrit *chandana*) it could not have been; that is a scrub evergreen of South India, too small and too soft for pillars, walks or musical instruments. In David's time, we are informed, the musical instruments wherewith Israel played before the Lord were made of cypress.[23]

Indian timber came to the ports of the Persian Gulf during the Neo-Babylonian period. Nebuchadrezzar's palace at Birs Nimrud, built between 604 and 562 B. C., had beams of Indian cedar, one of which is in the British Museum. The temple of the Moon-god at Mugheir, rebuilt by Nabonidus between 555 and 538 B. C., had wood reported as teak, but more probably Indian cedar. Later, about 80 A. D., the Periplus tells of imports at Ommana, Obollah and Charax Spasini of Indian sandal-wood, timbers of teak and logs of rose-wood and ebony.[24] But for the date of Solomon there is no confirmation of such trade. Indian literature is definite as to sea-trade in the Buddhist period. The Digha Nikaya[25] mentions voyages out of

[22] Watt, Commercial Products of India, 72-73, 294, 909, 976-977

[23] 2 Sam. VI, 5. [24] Periplus, 36.

[25] 1, 222: Rhys Davids, JRAS 1899, p. 432.

sight of land; but it would be unsafe to assume from its testimony the use of shore-sighting birds earlier than the 6th or 7th century B. C. This mention of Indian timber is probably a post-exilic gloss, possibly dating later than the LXX, 250 B. C., and added to the confused account of two separate shipments; cedar, cypress and marble from Lebanon, and incense trees from the land of Punt.

The third section of the story tells us that[26]

> The king had at sea a navy of Tarshish with the navy of Hiram; once every three years came the navy of Tarshish, bringing gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks.

In Chronicles it is said that "the king had ships that went to Tarshish." The LXX in Kings says "hewn stones, and timbers",[27] and in Chronicles "teeth of ivory, and monkeys."[28] In neither case does it mention peacocks.

Whether or not the account in Chronicles is inconsistent with that in Kings depends upon the original meaning of the words "Ophir" and "Tarshish." If at the time the texts were written these words had definite geographical meanings like those now assigned to them, there

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The cedar found at Mugheir could have come from Lebanon, floated down the Euphrates.

[26] 1 Kings X, 22; 2 Chron. IX, 21.

[27] *λιθῶν τορευτῶν καὶ πελεκητῶν*: Vulg. dentes elephantorum, et simias, et pavos.

[28] *ὀδόντων ἐλεφαντίνων καὶ πιθήκων*: Vulg. ebur, et simias, et pavos. Navy of Tarshish, *ναῦς Θαρσὶς* 1K. X, 22 אניות תרשיש
Ivory, apes, peacocks, שנהבים וקפים ותכיים 1K. X, 22. For the king's ships went to Tarshish; *ναῦς τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐπορεύετο εἰς Θαρσεῖς* כי־אניות למלך הלכות תרשיש 2 Chr. IX, 21.
Ivory, apes, and peacocks, שנהבים וקופים ותוכיים 2 Chr. IX; 21.

would be a manifest inconsistency; for a ship bound westward to a Tarshish in southern Spain could not well include in the same voyage an Ophir in southern or eastern Arabia. But if Tarshish means no more than "subject peoples", and Ophir a "coastland", and if the appearance of Ophir in the tribal genealogy of Genesis is due to the attempt of some interpreter of later date to give the name a definite application which it did not rightly possess, there would be no reason why either word should not apply to a distant voyage in any direction; to "colonial ports" such as Tartessus, or to "foreign coasts" such as those of the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf.[29]

There is a similar appearance of Tarshish in Isaiah (LXVI, 19) in a combination of peoples, probably Central Arabian: Tarshish, Pul and Lud, where Jeremiah (XLVI, 9) has Cush, Put and Ludim, and Ezekiel (XXX, 5) Ethiopia, Put and Lud and (XXVII, 10) Persians, Lud and Put. Cush, and its equivalent Ethiopia, represent non-Semitic elements in Arabia, whereof the Persians became increasingly numerous toward, and after, their overthrow of Neo-Babylonia.[30]

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[29] Tarshish: תרשיש from רשש "to break down" might mean no more than "subject peoples"; that is, any colony or foreign land; and its similarity in sound to Tarsus or Tartessus would readily extend it to cover them specifically, while it would have applied more correctly to certain parts of Arabia. אני תרשיש the "ship of Tarshish", would be a ship bound for foreign or distant shores.

This rendering would be unaffected by the fact that Tartessus in southern Spain is the Greek equivalent of the Aramaic form of Tarshish; for it explains the name as mean-

Silver was no Indian product. It was mined sparingly in the Yemama, whence the Ophir ships could have brought it back to Solomon. But Solomon was not seeking silver; and the Periplus mentions silver plate and coin among the imports at several Arabian, African and Indian ports.[31] Silver came also, and in larger quantity, from Tartessus, and may have been interpolated here because of the mention of Tarshish.

Ivory appears in the Hebrew text in a doubtful hybrid word, not elsewhere found, and readily divisible into two words meaning "ivory and ebony." Both were African products and appear constantly in the records of Egyptian voyages. We may assume that both were in the cargo of Solomon's similar ventures, and restore ebony to the place it originally held in the text.[32]

Apes and peacocks are native in South India, and the text seems to use Indian words; for apes, *qoph*, suggesting Sanskrit *kapi*;[33] and for peacocks, *thukki*, suggesting *tokei*, the poetical Tamil-Malayalam name, "bird with the splendid

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ing "dependency" or "colony" of Tyre, just as the Roman Colonia Agrippina became known as Colonia merely, or Cologne. Any other dependency could be referred to by the same word.

[30] Periplus, 33. Hamdani mentions a Persian mining community at El Ausaja in central Arabia, with thousands of "Magi" and two fire-temples. (Glaser, Skizze, 348).

[31] Periplus, 6, 8, 10, 24, 28, 49, 56.

[32] The Hebrew form is suspect: שנהבים would be an improbable hybrid with some Indian word such as *ibha;* but it divides so readily into שן והבנים which is exactly the form that appears in Ezekiel, that ebony, which was associated with ivory in the returns of the Egyptian Punt expeditions, may be given a like place in the similar ventures of Solomon.

tail."[34] But monkeys are native in Africa, and appear in the return cargoes of several of the Egyptian Punt expeditions, distinguished as *anau* and *kop*, making it unnecessary to go to India for the Hebrew word; the LXX uses the ordinary word for monkey, and omits the peafowl altogether.[35] The Baveru Jataka tells of Indian merchants who shipped peacocks to Babylon; it dates from about 400 B. C., and its facts are a century or two earlier.[36] The Supparaka Jataka records the perils undergone at sea for four months by a company of seven hundred merchants who sailed from the port of Bharukaccha ("marsh of Bharu",[37] on the Narbada river, the Barygaza of the Periplus).[38] But this Buddhistic evidence would support a post-exilic text only. Aristophanes mentions peacocks, and his word is derived from the Persian.[39] Like the barnyard fowl, the peacock reached Mediterranean lands after the Persian conquest.[40]

It is probable that these birds were ostriches, and that the Tamil name influenced the interpretation at a much later date. Ostrich plumes appear with gold dust in the cargo of a 19th Dynasty Punt expedition.[41] They were used in

[33] Cf. Kennedy, JRAS, 1898, 248-287.

[34] Mookerji, *op. cit.*, 93.

[35] Dümichen, Hist. Inschriften, ii, pl. XX

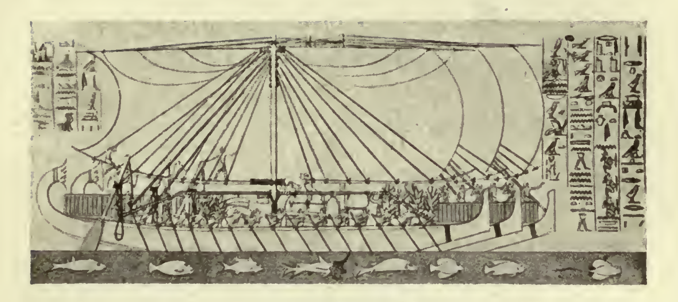
[36] Jataka III, 339, Cambridge ed.

[37] Jataka IV, 138-142.

[38] Periplus, 42-49

[39] Birds, 102, 269: *ταώς*, Persian *tavus*

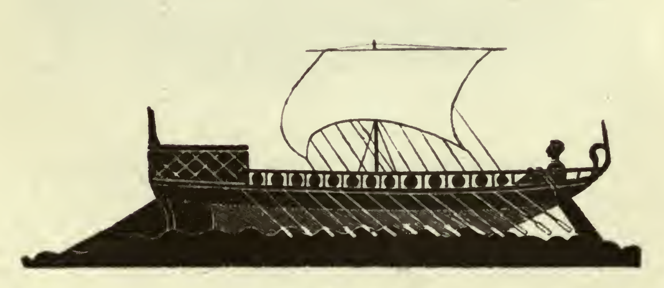
[40] Cf. Peters, The Cock, JAOS, XXXIII, pt. 4, 363-396



EGYPTIAN SHIP

from the Punt Reliefs in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir-el-Bahari

Reproduced from Chatterton, *Sailing Ships.*
J. B. Lippincott Co., publishers



GREEK GALLEY

from an Athenian Vase



PHOENICIAN GALLEY

A Model Exhibited in the Commercial Museum, Philadelphia
Based on the Sennacherib relief excavated by Layard

some of the royal head-dresses and as decorations for the royal chariot horses. The ostrich plume was also a hieroglyphic sign for "the west," from the abundance of ostriches throughout the Libyan desert.[42]

The ostrich was the "crying bird" that dwelt in the desert;[43]

> "I will make a wailing like the jackals,
> And a mourning like the ostriches."[44]

> "The beasts of the field shall honour Me,
> The jackals and the ostriches;
> Because I give waters in the wilderness,
> And rivers in the desert."[45]

The first station of the Exodus of the Israelites, in the desert, on the Egyptian side of the Red Sea, was Succoth,[46] which was the Egyptian nome Thuku,[47] the abode of the god Tum, also called "lord of An," which was a name for the region at the head of the gulf of Suez, now the Bitter Lakes.[48] Within this nome of Thuku was the store-city of Pithom, where the Israelites had dwelt in captivity. These plumes of the "crying bird," whether they came from Nubia or the Sudan,[49] or from the Libyan desert, reached the Israelites through Thuku, and could

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[41] Breasted, Ancient Records, III, 37

[42] Griffith, A Collection of Hieroglyphs, 60-61

[43] רננים from רנה to make a strident cry.

This is not so unlike תכיים, which might thus be a copyist's error.

[44] Micah I, 8 [45] Isa. XLIII, 20

[46] Ex. XII, 37: XIII, 20: Num. XXXIII, 5

[47] Brugsch, Aeg. Zeitschr. 1875, p. 7

[48] Naville, The Store City of Pithom, 7: Breasted, Ancient Records, III, 638

[49] Agatharchides, 57

thus have been called *thukki* birds. For Thuku was Egypt's "eastern gate" through which all trade must pass. Later, when another "crying bird," the peacock, had traveled through the Persian Empire from India to Palestine, its Tamil name *tokei* could have been identified with the Thuku desert-birds of the Red Sea trade. It seems unnecessary, therefore, to go to India for the *thukki*, or to hold the text responsible for this anachronistic rabbinical rendering, "peacocks." Instead of our modern versions, the true meaning of this passage may be "every third year the king's ships sailed down the coast, returning with gold, ivory, ebony, monkeys and ostrich plumes."

With these restorations it becomes probable that the Ophir voyages were similar in destination and purpose to the Punt expeditions, that their return cargoes were practically identical, and that they did not extend beyond the shores of the Gulf of Aden.

The largest item in the cargoes brought back from the Ophir voyages was gold. Central Arabia and Nubia were the principal sources of gold at that time. The accounts of the visit of the Queen of Sheba give the impression of an effort to open up a sea trade in gold which should make both parties independent of other, and perhaps unfriendly, peoples. Voyages to Sabaean ports would naturally follow a visit from the Sabaean queen. If caravan routes were available from the gold-mines to her country, the operating costs alone would have tended to prevent a longer sea-journey. Such routes were

available from the Yemama to Sheba, and the Nubian caravan routes came down to the opposite shore of the Red Sea, giving the advantage of a considerable competing supply.

The following table of comparative distances may be helpful:

Caravan Routes:		
Center of Jebel Shammar to	Basra	400 miles
"	Bay of Bahrein	400 "
"	Medina	300 "
"	Sanaa	800 "
"	Muza	950 "
"	Jerusalem via Taima	800 "
"	Jerusalem via Medina	650 "
Water Routes:		
Ezion Geber to Muza		1250 miles
Muza to Bay of Bahrein		2350 "
Day's sail	80 to 100 miles	
Day's caravan journey	30 to 40 "	

Round trip, Ezion Geber to Muza	2500 miles,	31 days
Add caravan journey, Jebel Shammar to Muza	1900 "	63 "
Total:	4400 miles,	94 days
Round trip, Ezion Geber to Bay of Bahrein	7200 miles,	90 days
Caravan iourney Jebel Shammar to Bay of Bahrein	800 "	20 "
Total:	8000 miles,	110 days

The duration of favorable trade winds in the Red Sea was about 60 days per season, in either direction.[50] A vessel sailing from Aden on the easterly monsoon would meet contrary winds on

[50] Periplus 56, 57

entering the Persian Gulf. From these factors it can be deduced that a Red Sea voyage would not have been extended, unless under some unusual emergency, beyond the coasts of the Gulf of Aden. While the round trip between Ezion-Geber and Bahrein could have been made within the three years stated in the text, we are informed only that the voyages were made once every three years, and not that they took the entire three years to make. The few facts available do not seem to support a different destination for the Ophir voyages than for the Punt expeditions. The sea trading between Babylon and western India in the Chaldean period was an independent enterprise. Because of the periodicity of the monsoons, a voyage between India and Egypt, or between India and the Persian Gulf, involved less difficulty than one between Egypt and the Euphrates. It seems improbable that there was any circumnavigation of Arabia prior to the expedition of Scylax of Caryanda, which was organized by the Persian government for purposes of exploration, and occurred about, or soon after, 500 B. C.[51]

A later king also essayed the Ophir trade, but met with disaster, whereof the combined accounts in Kings and Chronicles perhaps fail to give the full details. Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, "made ships of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold: but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion-Geber." Ahaziah, king of Israel, proposed partnership in the venture, say-

[51] Herodotus IV, 44

ing to Jehoshaphat, "Let my servants go with thy servants in the ships. But Jehoshaphat would not." Thus far in Kings. In the LXX the whole passage is lacking. But according to Chronicles the two kings did go into partnership, whereupon Eliezer prophesied against Jehoshaphat for being so weak as to join himself with one so wicked as Ahaziah, observing that the Lord had destroyed his works. At all events, "the ships were broken and were not able to go to Tarshish."[52]

Here again the apparent inconsistency in the use of the words "Tarshish" and "Ophir" may be due only to our literal geographical interpretation.[53] Whether the disaster occurred upon a quarrel between the partners, or by a storm that wrecked the ships while under construction, or from hostile intervention by some sheikh in the Medina district who controlled the caravan

[52] 1 Kings XXII, 49-50; 2 Chron. XX, 35-37

[53] That Jewish commentators did not ascribe to Tarshish a definite location is indicated by the following passage from the Talmud: "Tradition records that the ladder in Gen. 28, 12 was 8,000 miles wide, for it is written, 'And behold the angels of God ascending and descending upon it.' Angels ascending, being in the plural, cannot be fewer than two at a time, and so likewise must those descending, so that when they passed they were four abreast at least. In Dan. 10, 6 it is said of the angel, 'His body was like Tarshish', and there is a story that Tarshish extended 2,000 miles." (*Chullin*, 91, 2). RV and JR say "His body was like a beryl", but it is rather the golden stone of Tarshish, signifying a golden glory about the angel. This in turn is curiously suggestive of the *Suvarna bhumi* or "golden coast" of the Hindus and may have been the reason for Josephus's identification of Ophir (or Tarshish) with the Golden Chersonese.

routes and therefore objected to the "freedom of the sea", we have no means of determining.

Of Ophir voyages no more appears in the Hebrew scriptures. Thereafter gold came to Palestine over the caravan-routes, when it came; but successive conquests in Arabia by Assyrians, Chaldeans and Persians drew the output of the Arabian mines eastward, and the Persians possessed themselves of much of central Arabia. They conquered Egypt as the Chaldeans conquered Palestine and Syria, and their "royal road" from Sardis to Susa displaced the older Mesopotamian routes. But a remnant of the trade survived, for Phoenicians driven by the Persians from Chaldea settled at Gerrha, on the shore of the Persian Gulf at the terminus of a Yemama caravan-route,[54] and Sabaeans in Yemen waxed rich from their control of another Yemama route and of the sea-route from India, which they turned to good account in their dealings with Ptolemaic Egypt.[55]

The Sheba mission brought gold, spices, and incense, and the Ophir voyages gold, spices, incense, ivory, ebony and other incidentals. These were used in the temple and the palace; hence their prominence in the priestly tradition.

That Jewish commentators did not consider the text of Chronicles to be absolutely reliable is indicated in the following passage from the Talmud:

> Between Azel and Azel (I Chron. VIII, 38 and IX, 44) there are four hundred camelloads of critical researches due to the presence of manifold contradictions. (*P'sachim* 62, 2).

[54] Strabo, XVI, 1, 5

[55] Agatharchides, de mari Erythraeo, 97-102

V.

In the days of Israel's adversity the temple suffered first. Both Nineveh and Babylon looked upon Jerusalem as a vassal to be taxed or a rebel to be plundered, according to the event. The first onset came from Nineveh. Pul, a general in the Assyrian army, after overthrowing a decadent dynasty, had assumed the royal title as Tiglath-pileser III, king of Assyria. He had conquered Babylon in 729 B. C. and had forced its priests to crown him there. His armies had also fought their way to the sacred "mountain of the north", Demavend (Bikni, Elburz). It is to his own account of these triumphs that we must look for explanation of the scornful allusions of Isaiah. The caption of his Nimrud inscription is sufficient:[1]

> The palace of Tiglath-pileser, the great king, the mighty king, king of the whole world, king of Assyria, King of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters of the world; the hero, the warrior, who under the protection of Ashur, his lord, dashed to pieces like pots all those who were disobedient to him, swept over them like a cyclone, and gave them to the winds; the king who at the call of Ashur, Shamash, and Marduk, the great gods, marched here and there and ruled over lands from the Salt Sea of Bit-Yakin to Mount Bikni in the east, and from the Western Sea to Egypt, and from the horizon to the zenith, and exercised kingship over them.

Babylon revolted in 722 and crowned Merodach-baladan legitimate king. Sennacherib, who began to reign at Nineveh in 705, invaded Palestine

[1] Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Literature, p. 52.

in 701 and took its fortified cities. Hezekiah, king of Judah, purchased immunity by paying three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold, including all the silver that was in the temple and all the treasure in the palace, while the gold was cut from the very doors and door-posts of the temple.[2] A brief lamentation of Isaiah is preserved:[3]

Yea, it is done; that fortified cities
Should be laid waste into ruinous heaps.
Therefore their inhabitants were of small power,
They were dismayed and confounded;
They were as the grass of the field,
And as the green herb,
As the grass on the housetops,
And as corn blasted before it is grown up.

The vultures were gathering; upon the report of the sickness of Hezekiah, the king of Babylon, Merodach-baladan, sent a letter and gifts. Hezekiah was so imprudent as to show the messenger all his treasure-house, "the silver, and the gold, and the spices, and the precious oil, and the house of his armor," and Isaiah foretold that all these things would be carried to Babylon, and that the king's sons would become officers in the palace of the king of Babylon.[4]

Instead of sweet spices there shall be rottenness;
Instead of a girdle rags;

. . . . . .

Thy men shall fall by the sword,
And thy mighty in the war.
And her gates shall lament and mourn;
And utterly bereft she shall sit upon the ground.[5]

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[2] 2 Kings XVIII, 13-16
[3] 2 Kings XIX, 25-26
[4] 2 Kings XX, 12-18
[5] Is. III, 24-26

Sennacherib, in 694 B. C., directed an expedition against the Elamites on the Persian Gulf. The land was inaccessible to an army, and he was obliged to construct a navy at the mouth of the Euphrates. For this purpose he brought officers and workmen from Tyre. Sennacherib conquered Babylon in 691 B. C. and razed it to the ground. The Phoenicians then acquired a larger influence in the Persian Gulf and along the Euphrates, as sea-traders for Assyria; to such an extent that Tyre seems to have come to represent Babylon in the mind of Judah.[6] Isaiah in his Burden of Babylon remarks of it:[7]

> "Behold, the land of the Chaldeans—this is the people that was not, when Asshur founded it for shipmen"—

This substitution of Tyre for Babylon was greatly extended in the prophecies of Ezekiel, who, being a captive of Babylon, could not openly foretell her destruction.

The prophets of the adversity, Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, all ascribed the sufferings of Israel to her sins, and viewed her conquerors as temporary instruments of the Lord's wrath. They predicted a similar fate for most of Israel's neighbors, and in turn for the conquerors themselves. The fall of the oppressor was prophesied more or less directly, according to circumstances. Isaiah gives the doom of Philistia,[8] the burdens of Moab[9] and Damascus,[10] the warning to the people tall and of a glossy skin[11] (who were tribes

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[6] Somewhat as Sidon was associated with Persia by the Greeks: Cf. Aeschylus, *Persae*, 290-471

[7] Is. XXIII, 13 (JR) [8] Is. XIV [9] Is. XV

[10] Is. XVII [11] Is. XVIII

of central and southern Arabia), and the burdens of Egypt,[12] the wilderness of the sea, Dumah, Arabia,[13] the Valley of Vision,[14] and Tyre.[15] His longest doom prophecy is of the fate of Asshur,[16] into which is interpolated the Burden of Babylon[17]—which was not in Isaiah's time an oppressor of Israel, and in this song seems to stand for Nineveh, whose king had appropriated the crown of Babylon. The prophecy begins with the immediate oppressor[18]

> O Asshur, the rod of Mine anger,
> In whose hand as a staff is Mine indignation!

who, because he believed his conquest to be the result of his own strength, was to be punished for his arrogant heart and haughty lips:

> Should the ax boast itself against him that heweth therewith? Should the saw magnify itself against him that moveth it? Therefore thus saith the Lord, the God of hosts: O My people that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of Asshur, though he smite thee with the rod, and lift up his staff against thee, after the manner of Egypt. For yet a very little while, and the indignation shall be accomplished, and Mine anger shall be to their destruction......

Then follows the Burden of Babylon, which must have been vividly in the mind of Ezekiel as a Babylonian captive:[19]

> Behold, I will stir up the Medes against them,
> Who shall not regard silver,
> And as for gold, they shall not delight in it.
> And their bows shall dash the young men in pieces;
> And they shall have no pity on the fruit of the womb;
> Their eye shall not spare children.

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[12] Is. XIX
[13] Is. XXI
[14] Is. XXII
[15] Is. XXIII
[16] Is. X-XIV
[17] Is. XIII
[18] Is. X, 5-6, 15, 24-25, 27
[19] Is. XIII, 17-22

And Babylon, the glory of kingdoms,
The beauty of the Chaldeans' pride,
Shall be as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah.
It shall never be inhabited.
Neither shall it be dwelt in from generation to generation;
Neither shall the Arabian pitch tent there;
Neither shall the shepherds make their fold there.
But wild-cats shall lie there;
And their houses shall be full of ferrets;
And ostriches shall dwell there,
And satyrs shall dance there.
And jackals shall howl in their castles,
And wild-dogs in the pleasant palaces;
And her time is near to come,
And her days shall not be prolonged.

But unless this passage be understood as a much later interpolation, it refers to Assyria, for it was before a combination of Medes and Babylonians that Nineveh fell; and the conclusion of the prophecy again points northward:[20]

How art thou fallen from heaven,
O day-star, son of the morning!
How art thou cut down to the ground,
That didst cast lots over the nations!
And thou saidst in thy heart:
'I will ascend into heaven,
Above the stars of God
Will I exalt my throne;
And I will sit upon the mount of meeting,
In the uttermost parts of the north;
I will ascend above the heights of the clouds;
I will be like the Most High.'
Yet thou shalt be brought down to the nether-world,
To the uttermost parts of the pit.

Esar-haddon restored and rebuilt Babylon and other Chaldean cities which Sennacherib had destroyed.

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[20] Is. XIV, 12-15

Once again in 647 B. C. was Judah subjected to oppression from Nineveh when Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria and Babylonia, captured Manasseh, king of Judah, obtained his penitence, renewal of allegiance and tribute.

Nineveh fell about 606 B. C.

Nebuchadrezzar reigned in Babylonia 604-561 B. C. Judah was his tributary but rebelled and entered into an alliance with Egypt three years later. Jerusalem was besieged in 597 and surrendered by king Jehoiakim, 8,000 of the best inhabitants being taken captive to Babylonia, including the prophet Ezekiel.

Zedekiah was put on the throne in Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar in 597 B. C. He rebelled in 588; but against the power of Babylon he was helpless. When Jerusalem fell in 586 to the army of Nebuchadrezzar, they slew the sons of king Zedekiah in his presence, and then put out his eyes and carried him in fetters to Babylon. They destroyed with fire the houses of the best citizens, the royal palace and the sacred temple. They violated the Holy Place, and carried away to the treasure-house at Babylon all the sacred vessels and implements of brass wherewith the altars of the Lord had been served. And most of the people they mustered and carried away as captives to Babylonia.[21]

> "And the pillars of brass that were in the house of the Lord, and the bases and the brazen sea that were in the house of the Lord, did the Chaldeans break in pieces, and carried the brass of them to Babylon. And the pots, and the shovels, and the snuffers, and the pans, and all the vessels of brass wherewith they ministered, took they away."[22]

[21] 2 Kings XXV, 1-11 [22] 2 Kings XXV, 13-14

Nebuchadrezzar's own account of his triumphs explains the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel; the earlier portions of the "India House" inscription are sufficient:

> Nebuchadrezzar, King of Babylon, the exalted prince, the favorite of Marduk, the lofty patesi, the beloved of Nabu, the arbiter, the possessor of wisdom, who seeks out the path of their divinity, who reverences their lordship;....At the time that Marduk, the great lord, lifted up my royal head and intrusted me with the rule of all people; and Nabu, the ruler of the host of heaven and earth, gave into my hands a righteous sceptre for the governing of the people;....To Marduk my lord I made supplication; I read his prayers, and the word of my heart reached up to him....Under his exalted protection, far-off lands, distant mountains, from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea, steep trails, unopened paths, where motion was impeded, where there was no foothold, difficult roads, journeys without water, I traversed, and the unruly I overthrew; I bound as captives my enemies; the land I set in order and the people I made to prosper; both bad and good among the people I took under my care; silver, gold, costly precious stones, bronze, palm-wood, cedar-wood, all kinds of precious things, a rich abundance, the product of the mountains, the wealth of the seas, a heavy gift, a splendid present, to my city Babylon I brought into his presence.....[23]

In 586 B. C. Nebuchadrezzar besieged Tyre; the city held out for thirteen years before its surrender—if indeed, it surrendered at all; according to Tyrian records it merely submitted again to tribute.

These are the events that inspired the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, which differed in method because Jeremiah remained behind in Jerusalem and finally went to Egypt, while Ezekiel was carried captive to Babylonia. Jeremiah's doom songs cover Jerusalem and all her

[23] Harper, *op. cit.* 134-136

neighbors, reaching their natural climax with the immediate oppressor, Babylon. Beginning with his prophecy against Jerusalem,[24] which was followed by mistreatment and imprisonment, came those upon Egypt and the army of Pharaoh-neco at Carchemish which Nebuchadrezzar smote,[25] followed by the Philistines,[26] Moab,[27] Ammon, Edom, Damascus, Kedar and Hazor,[28] ending with Babylon:[29]

> As Babylon hath caused the slain of Israel to fall
> So at Babylon shall fall the slain of all the land.
> Though Babylon should mount up to heaven,
> And though she should fortify the height of her strength,
> Yet from Me shall spoilers come unto her, saith the Lord.
> Thus saith the Lord of hosts:
> The broad walls of Babylon shall be utterly overthrown,
> And her high gates shall be burned with fire;
> And the peoples shall labour for vanity,
> And the nations for the fire;
> And they shall be weary.
> And Jeremiah wrote in one book all the evil that should come upon Babylon, even all those words that are written concerning Babylon. And Jeremiah said to Seraiah: 'When thou comest to Babylon, then see that thou read all these words, and say: O Lord, Thou hast spoken concerning this place, to cut it off, that none shall dwell therein, neither man nor beast, but that it shall be desolate for ever. And it shall be, when thou hast made an end of reading this book, that thou shalt bind a stone to it, and cast it into the midst of the Euphrates; and thou shalt say: Thus shall Babylon sink, and shall not rise again because of the evil that I will bring upon her; and they shall be weary.'[30]

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[24] Jer. XXII-XXVI
[25] Jer. XLVI
[26] Jer. XLVII
[27] Jer. XLVIII
[28] Jer. XLIX
[29] Jer. L,LI
[30] Jer. LI, 49, 53, 58, 60-64

VI.

From the residence of his captivity on the Chebar in Babylonia Ezekiel was enabled better than his countrymen who remained in Jerusalem, to view the growing power and the predatory purpose of Babylon, and to warn his countrymen of the futility of resistance. But although he was a Babylonian captive, it is not to be supposed that he was a lover of Babylon. Hatred, not admiration, was uppermost in his mind, but care was necessary, if he would fall afoul of no law of *lèse majesté;* for Nebuchadrezzar was a ruthless oppressor, and there was real need for giving cryptic expression to a prophecy against him. His doom prophecies cover Ammon, Moab and Seir, Edom, the Philistines,[1] Egypt,[2] Ethiopia and the lands of the South.[3] There is a warning to Egypt of the fate of Assyria,[4] and a lamentation for Egypt.[5] There is also a doom prophecy upon Tyre,[6] which is expanded, unlike the other prophecies, into a parable of the ship "Tyre",[7] and a lamentation for the "King of Tyre",[8] which are susceptible of interpretation that would make them substitutes for Babylon, the great oppressor, for whom no fate is directly prophesied. In like manner the author of the book of Daniel writes in detail about the fate of Babylon, when he means Antioch; and the

[1] Ezek. XXV
[2] Ezek. XXIX, XXX
[3] Ezek. XXX
[4] Ezek. XXXI
[5] Ezek. XXXII
[6] Ezek. XXVI
[7] Ezek. XXVII
[8] Ezek. XXVIII

author of the Apocalypse, smarting under the oppression of Rome, cries out in more than one passage against specific details of Roman legislation and taxation, prophesying the doom of Rome under the name of the long dead Babylon, and in a wealth of imagery taken not so much from the luxury of Rome herself, as from the doom song of Ezekiel on Babylon under the name of Tyre.

The purpose of the prophecies of Ezekiel was the re-establishment of the temple and city at Jerusalem after the rival states and the great oppressor had met the fates predicted for them. In the utmost detail he gives the measurement by reed-lengths of the new construction which, as with Moses and David, he says "was written down by the hand of the Lord upon him."[9] Service in the new temple was to be performed by the priests of the sons of Zadok,[10] of whom Ezekiel was one, and all the offerings, the tithes and the reservation of the devoted substances previously ordered for tabernacle and temple, were to be renewed.[11] Ezekiel did not live to see the reconstruction undertaken, and Ezra and Nehemiah, under whom the work was done, do not give sufficient detail for us to determine how far they carried out his specifications. For the reconstruction Ezekiel gives minute measurements, but says nothing concerning ma-

[9] Ezek. XI, 1-4 [10] Ezek. XL, 46

[11] Ezek. XLII-XLVI: It is, of course, a matter of debate whether Ezekiel's system was innovation or restoration; concerning which some considerations are offered in the concluding section of this book.



A King putting out the Eyes of a Captive
Botta, *Le Monument de Ninive*
(See p. 44)

Reproduced from Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires.*
D. Appleton & Co., publishers



Prisoners under Torture having their Tongues torn out: original in the British Museum. (See pp. 39, 44)

Reproduced from Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires.* D. Appleton & Co., publishers

terials.[12] We may assume that he had in mind, so far as possible, the use of those already sanctified; and it is in his doom songs, especially those upon Jerusalem, Samaria and Tyre, that the details are found.[13]

Ezekiel's visions began, he tells us, in July 593 B. C.[14] and lasted for twenty-two years. His prophetic method was that of the artist, student and popular orator, and without full knowledge of local contemporary conditions constantly alluded to in his writings, it is sometimes difficult to grasp his meaning. His speaking must have been full of dramatic action, highly picturesque in style, designed to attract the passersby at the street corners. He said of his own work that he doubted the efficacy of emblematic prophecy:[15]

> "thou art unto them as a love song of one that hath a pleasant voice, and can play well on an instrument; so they hear thy words, but they do them not."

[12] Whether these minute numerical details may have, by Gematria, any bearing upon the subject now under consideration, the present writer can only leave to some student of the Kabbalah to determine. Cf. Abelson, Jewish Mysticism.

[13] That the sanctity of the temple and its ritual was considered essential to the welfare of the people is shown in the following passages from the Talmud:

There are three things on which the world stands: The law, the temple service, and benevolence—Avoth, 1.

Seven things were formed before the creation of the world: The Law, Repentance, Paradise, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the name of the Messiah—P'sachim, 54, 1.

So long as there is a diadem on the head of the priest, there is a crown on the head of every man. Remove the diadem from the head of the high priest and you take away the crown from the head of all the people (Comment. on Ezek. XXI, 26)—Gittin 7, 1.

[14] Ezek. I, 1-3

[15] Ezek. XXXIII, 32

But from such methods resulted the best accounts in the Hebrew scriptures of the economic and commercial conditions, and of the peoples with whom Israel was in contact. It was as if the speaker held up to his audience a painting and pointed out before their eyes every detail of interest; or as if, in that passage about the "sword of the Lord" he acted out on the street corner the fire and fury of the swordsman.[16] Equally striking was his mimic siege of Jerusalem,[17] followed by his description of Jerusalem as a rusty caldron, the sides or walls whereof the Babylonian forces would readily breach.[18] Were such passages accompanied by the usual stage directions they might still be suited to dramatic action. Learned in the Law he was also, and in the history of his people, so deeply that his work is sometimes fragrant of the midnight oil; but his object in the use of details was to instruct his audience in some specific way, and not to produce an encyclopedia.[19] And in studying his details it is necessary constantly to bear in mind the reasons for their appearance.

[16] Ezek. XXI, 13-16 [17] Ezek. IV, V [18] Ezek. XXIV, 1-14

[19] Benjamin of Tudela describes the Synagogue of Ezekiel, by the Euphrates: It had sixty turrets; in the court was the ark, and at the back the sepulchre of Ezekiel. The Chebar was at one side and the Euphrates at the other. It was held sacred by Israel as a lesser sanctuary. On the Day of Atonement they brought forth, and read from, a scroll of the Law written on parchment by Ezekiel. A lamp burned day and night over the sepulchre, the light having been kept burning from the day that he lighted it himself. There was a library filled with books, some from the time of the first temple and some from the time of the second temple, and offerings were received from Jews in distant lands. (ed. Adler, p. 44)

The prophecies of Ezekiel most closely related to the present inquiry are that on Jerusalem as the foundling and faithless bride,[20] that on Samaria and Jerusalem the wanton sisters,[21] and that on the ship "Tyre" as the symbol of world commerce, material wealth, and the pride of empire.[22]

As the chosen of the Lord, Jerusalem was pictured as owing her comforts and luxuries to the instruments of the Lord, whether priest or king, and as being bound thereby to the Lord by their use and enjoyment. So the daughters of Israel had been reminded that Saul clothed them with garments of scarlet and other delights, and put ornaments of gold upon their apparel.[23]

In Ezekiel's parable of the foundling, this idea is much more fully developed; and it is of interest to find that the luxuries wherewith this outcast daughter of the Amorite and Hittite[24] (*pace* the compiler of the text of the Law) was clothed as the bride of the Lord, were, item by item, substances that went into the construction, adornment, equipment and service of the tabernacle of Moses:

> I anointed thee with oil. I clothed thee also with richly woven work, and shod thee with sealskin, and I wound fine linen about thy head, and covered thee with silk.[25]

The oil was for the lamp, the offerings and the anointing oil; the richly woven work was for the priest's robes; the sealskins for the covering above the tent; the silk represented the goats'

[20] Ezek. XVI
[21] Ezek. XXIII
[22] Ezek. XXVII
[23] 2 Sam. I, 24
[24] Ezek. XVI, 3
[25] Ezek. XVI, 9-10

hair of the tent; and the fine linen was for the curtains of the tabernacle.[26]

"Silk" is the rabbinical interpretation of a Hebrew word meaning "drawn," whereby the original allusion to the goats' hair covering of the tabernacle is lost. The LXX has "veil of hair", agreeing with the Exodus specifications.[27] In the echo of this passage in the Apocalypse it appears as "seric" cloth, which although it came to mean silk, originally included also cotton muslin, the classical writers being confused by the tree origin of both fabrics.[28]

SEALSKINS: תחשים עורות Tahash, from which the rabbis read badger, dolphin or seal, as if from root חשה to rest; but LXX ὑακίνθινα; Vulg. janthinas, DV violet skins; the outermost of the four coverings of the tabernacle, Ex. XXV, 5; Num. IV, 6. The purpose was to shed the rain and ward off the lightning; whether a natural hide or a specially-prepared leather, depends upon the religious affiliations of the interpreter! Seals were plentiful in the Red Sea; Agatharchides (87) mentions the "Island of Seals" off the headland separating the Gulfs of Suez and Akaba. Φωκῶν νῆσος ὀνομαζομένη. Sails of ships, says Plutarch (Quaest. conviv. IV, 2, 1) were bound with hide; and the skins of the hyena and the seal were especially in request for this, because of an ancient belief that they would keep off the lightning.

This was not the true seal, but rather the Red Sea dugong, *Halicore tabernaculi.*

[26] Ex. XXV, 4.

[27] τριχαπτῷ, Vulg. bysso. India is said to have exported silk to the Persian empire, where it exchanged for its weight in gold (Mookerji, op. cit. 82-83).

[28] Rev. XVIII, 12: Both were known as tree wool. Cf. Strabo XV, i, 20. "Nearchus says that their fine cloths were made of this wool, and that the Macedonians used it for mattresses and the stuffing of saddles. The Serica also are of a similar kind, and are made of dry byssus, which is obtained from some sort of

The apparent inconsistency is due solely to this late misinterpretation.

The description then turns to the "devoted substances", whereof a share was to be reserved for the priests and Levites.

> I decked thee also with ornaments, and I put bracelets upon thy hands, and a chain on thy neck. And I put a ring upon thy nose, and earrings in thine ears, and a beautiful crown upon thy head.[29]

Once more we return to the tabernacle:

> Thus wast thou decked with gold and silver; and thy raiment was of fine linen, and silk, and richly woven work.[30]

Here again silk is a mistaken rendering, the LXX having "covering cloth of linen, veil of goats' hair, and chequered work", agreeing with the Exodus specifications.[31] The substitution of silk for mohair could have occurred at any time after the Seleucid empire had made possible the organization of the overland trade route. Its presence in the temple may be doubted before a late post-exilic date.

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bark of plants." Also Herodotus II, 86; Pliny XIV, 4; XIX, 2; XII, 21. Ammianus Marcellinus XXIII, vi, 67. Vergil, Georgics II, 121: Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.

[29] Ezek. XVI, 11-12: cf. Num. XXXI. "God will be a *crown of glory* upon the head of each saint": Isa, XXVIII, 5 (Megillah, 15b). Cf. 2 Tim. IV, 8.

[30] Ezek. XVI, 13

[31] *περιβόλαια βύσσινα, τρίχαπτὰ καὶ ποικίλα* Vulg. bysso et polymito et multicoloribus.

SILK: so AV, RV, JR, following rabbinical interpretation of משי Ezek. XVI, 10. But the reference is to the goats' hair covering of the tabernacle, likened to a woman's garment. Cf. Ex. XXVI, 1-14: a framework supporting linen hangings, the tabernacle proper, משכן, or dwelling; over this were drawn the outer curtains, of goats' hair, אהל, or tent; over this, the tent-covering of rams' skins, with an upper covering of sealskins. The inner hang-

Next come the tabernacle offerings:

Thou didst eat fine flour, and honey, and oil.[82]

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ings were שש, the outer curtains מסך. (shesh, masakh). Ezekiel, in MT, alters these words to a rhyming sequence of ששי and משי, (sheshi, meshi), and the rabbis, seeing the root משה "to draw" (which could also refer to the curtains drawn over the hangings), and thinking of a living, rather than a symbolic, wanton, imagined a "fine-drawn" fabric; drawn-work, as it were. Transparent gauze was much affected by the *haut-monde*, and the *demi-monde* likewise, after the silk-spinners of Cos learned the art; but this was well into the Seleucid period. Cf. Pliny, H. N. xi, 26. These rabbis must have been of the sort described in Dan. XIII, concerning whom cf. Vulg. or DV.

The LXX holds to the original reading, having *βύσσινα καὶ τριχαπτά*, but the Vulg. partly loses the allusion with its *bysso et polymito*, which the DV renders "fine linen and embroidered work." The ancient Armenian also uses a word meaning "embroidery".

The covering of the tabernacle was symbolized by Isaiah also as a woman's garment; cf. XXII, 8, "the covering of Judah was laid bare", meaning that the city was to be forcibly entered; so Ezekiel, when he speaks of the foundling removing her garments (made of the veils and curtains of the tabernacle) to cover her "images of men", means that the sanctuary was opened to the worship of other gods. So in Cant. V, 7, the bride who went forth to seek her husband was taken by the watchmen to be a wanton, and they "took away her mantle."

The parallel passage in the Apocalypse (Rev. XVIII, 12) has *βυσσίνου καὶ σιρικοῦ*, "linen and silk", following the rabbinical interpretation, with which it was nearly contemporary.

The assonant ששי and משי may be a variant in MT, later than the LXX; but the assonance may also be a trick of style, as cf. קדה and קנה, Ezek. XXVII, 19, where in Ex. XXX, 23 MT has קנה-בשם and קנמן-בשם.

The same two fabrics appear in the ship's awnings, linen and hair, *παραῤῥύματα λευκὰ καὶ τρίχινα*, or *βύσσινα καὶ τρίχινα*.

(Corp. Inscr. Attic. ii, 809, 811)

[82] Ezek. XVI, 13

The showbread, the unleavened cakes, and the meal offering are suggested.[33] But honey was a substance forbidden as an offering; the text may be earlier than the present text of Leviticus, or it may indicate laxity in observance:

> for ye shall make no leaven, nor any honey, smoke as an offering made by fire unto the Lord.[34]

However, flour, honey and oil are all of the firstfruits of which the tithes were to be paid.[35]

But, the prophet continues, the faithless foundling trusted in her own beauty and bestowed her garments and ornaments upon others; wherein the mention of the materials of the tabernacle signifies Israel's service of other gods:

> Thou didst also take thy fair jewels of My gold and of My silver, which I had given thee, and madest for thee images of men....and thou didst take thy richly woven garments and cover them, and didst set Mine oil and Mine incense before them. My bread also which I gave thee, fine flour, and oil, and honey, wherewith I fed thee, thou didst even set it before them for a sweet savor....[36]

The foundling's favorites are named as the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the "land of traffic, even Chaldea"; this expression, "land of traffic", is one that Ezekiel applies alike to Tyre and Babylon, but it seems to indicate Babylon

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[33] Ex. XXV, XXIX, XXX [34] Lev. II, 11

[35] Num. XVIII, Deut. XIV:—According to the Talmud, seven liquids are comprehended under the generic term, drink (Lev. XI, 34): dew, water, wine, oil, blood, milk, and honey. (Machshirin, 6, 6).

[36] Ezek. XVI, 17-19

all the time.[37] Notwithstanding the foundling's misbehavior, she is promised ultimate forgiveness with the establishment of a covenant "for the age."[38]

In the parable of the wanton sisters, the details are no longer those of the sacred ritual, but of the military equipment of kings. Their favorites are:

> the Assyrians, governors and rulers, warriors, clothed most gorgeously, horsemen riding upon horses, all of them handsome young men....The Chaldeans girded with girdles upon their loins, pendant turbans upon their heads, all of them captains to look upon,...the sons of Babylon, even Chaldea.[39]

And it was prophesied that the sisters would find themselves set upon in hostile array by:

> The Babylonians and all the Chaldeans, Pekod and Shoa and Koa, and all the Assyrians with them, handsome young men, governors and rulers all of them, captains and councillors, all of them riding upon horses. And they shall come against thee with hosts, chariots, and wheels, and with an assembly of peoples; they shall set themselves in array against thee with buckler and shield and helmet round about;...They shall also strip thee of thy clothes, and take away thy fair jewels..[40]

That is to say, that all the military equipment and power in which Solomon and his successors

[37] Ezek. XVII, 3-4, 12: the great eagle that came unto Lebanon and took the top of the cedar, "and carried it to a land of traffic", and the prophet explains the allegory: "the king of Babylon came to Jerusalem, and took the king thereof, and the princes thereof, and brought them to him to Babylon."

[38] Ezek. XVI, 60-63

[39] Ezek. XXIII, 5-16: The names of the sisters sufficiently explain the symbolism: Jerusalem is אהליבה "my tabernacle is in her", and Samaria is אהלה "she has her own tabernacle" (Oholibah, Oholah). The foundling also is clothed in stuffs of the tabernacle.

[40] Ezek. XXIII, 22-26: cf. 1 Kings X

had prided themselves would be overwhelmed by the greater power of Chaldea, and the hangings and veils of the temple, the robes of the priests, and the precious vessels for the service, would be carried off to Babylon.

Having listed in the dooms of Samaria and Jerusalem, as clothing and equipment, the items of the service of the temple and of the spoil of priests and kings, the prophet proceeds to the doom of Tyre,[41] which Nebuchadrezzar was preparing to conquer. He then takes up his parable of the good ship "Tyre",[42] which forms one of our most vivid pictures of ancient commerce, and ranks in that respect with the Punt inscriptions and the Tel-el-Amarna letters.

Whatever the earlier history of the Phoenicians, whether or not they came originally from the Persian Gulf, they had been located for centuries on the Mediterranean coast of Syria, and had thoroughly explored the Mediterranean and Black Seas and the coasts of the Atlantic; southward, perhaps, as far as Sierra Leone, and northward as far as Britain.[43] After the overthrow of the older Babylonia by Assyria, its civilization as well as its public improvements decayed, and the lower courses of the Euphrates and Tigris reverted to swampy marsh-lands inhabited by a poverty-stricken and primitive people; while the sea-trade of the Persian Gulf decayed likewise. The Assyrians employed the services of the Phoenicians in their campaign against

[41] Ezek. XXVI [42] Ezek. XXVII

[43] The Carthaginians certainly reached Sierra Leone, but a century later: cf. Periplus of Hanno.

Elam; and the location of their shipbuilding enterprises was too obviously a point of vantage to be overlooked. How great was the assistance they rendered in enabling the new Babylonia to gain its independence of Nineveh, and finally, in alliance with the Medes, utterly to overthrow Assyria, we need not at present attempt to determine; but their influence was doubtless great, and great likewise within the new Babylonian kingdom, in which they probably took a leading part as sea-traders both east and west, as land carriers and as international bankers.[44] The contemptuous remark of Isaiah may be recalled:

> Behold, the land of the Chaldeans—this is the people that was not, when Asshur founded it for shipmen..[45]

Such dependence of a powerful state upon a mere city was intolerable to the Babylonians, and is sufficient explanation of their long and unremitting siege of Tyre. Whether or not they took the city, they inflicted injuries upon its commerce from which it never fully recovered. In this respect Tyre held a position somewhat analogous to that of the Venetian republic toward the Holy Roman Empire. Tyre commercially represented Babylon, but Babylon found herself without a satisfactory share of the profits, which she was resolved to possess for herself alone. This will explain the readiness with which Ezekiel used the symbol of the good ship "Tyre" as representing the whole commercial structure

[44] But it was at best an indolent commercial system, as compared with modern standards: cf. Gardner, History of Ancient Coinage, IV.

[45] Is. XXIII, 13 (JR) שמעו רחוקים אשר עשיתי ודעו קרובים

of the Babylonians, and how, in prophesying from his residence upon the Chebar waterway the obviously impending doom of the city of Tyre, he was able at the same time to prophesy the approaching doom of Babylon herself. The commerce of the real Tyre is well known from other sources, and it included many things not found in Ezekiel's allegory; and if we tabulate the trade therein, it is clearly no trade of a busy commercial and industrial metropolis. There are imports, but no exports; and Tyre based her commercial strength upon her manufactures. The imports are such as Tyre dealt in, but there were many more; and the sources given are correct so far as they go, but Tyre dealt with many other places and peoples than those mentioned by Ezekiel. The ship "Tyre" is a symbol of Chaldea; her cargo is a symbol of the institutions of the priesthood and princedom of Judah which Babylon had profaned; and her doom is the doom of Babylon herself.[46]

For the ship "Tyre", in building, manning, and lading, was surely one of the strangest vessels that ever ploughed the seas. The planks of the tabernacle, but cut from wood of the temple, made its hull; the timber of the temple, its mast; the pillars of the tabernacle, but of wood of the tree under which Joshua set up his stone, its oars; the veil, its sail; the screen, its awning; its standard, perhaps that of the tribe

[46] In the book of Daniel, Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon do duty for Antiochus Epiphanes and Antioch. Jeremiah (XXV, 26) uses Sheshach, which, in cipher, is Babylon. That the royal spies were a real menace, cf. Eccl. X, 20.

of Levi; the royal throne, its helmsman's seat. Although officered and manned by the best men of the chief cities of Phoenicia, and defended by the sturdiest of the fighters of Arabia, its cargo was made up of the metals of tabernacle, temple, and royal guard; the sacred vessels; the captive maidens and the beasts of burden set aside for the priests; the cavalry and commissary equipment of Solomon; the ivory of the throne; the jewels of the high priest's breastplate and of his shoulder-buckles; the showbread and anointing oil; the drink-offering; the tent-covering of the tabernacle; the king's weapons and armor; the sacred incense; the burnt-offering, the meal-offering, and the sin-offering; the gold of the breastplate and the mitre-plate; and the robes of the high priest, packed in a chest that recalled the ark of the covenant, which the Babylonians had destroyed, and the sacred treasure, which they were holding in their treasure-house! A strange medley, if read as a real ship's manifest; but if read as its writer intended, a memorable record of the desire of a people for retribution.[47]

> The Lord is of them that uphold my soul,
> He shall requite the evil unto mine enemies.[48]

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[47] There is some confusion in the text. The LXX is more consistent than the Hebrew. The present version (in which due regard is had to the recent commentaries of Bertholet, Kraetzschmar and Cheminant) is offered in the hope of interpreting the doubtful passages.

[48] Ps. LIV, 4-5.

VII

THE SHIP "TYRE"

EZEKIEL XXVII

The word of the Lord came again unto me, saying: And thou, son of man, take up a lamentation for Tyre; and say unto Tyre, that dwelleth at the entry of the sea, that is the place of traffic for the peoples from many isles: Thus saith the Lord God:

Thou, O Tyre, hast said: A ship am I,
Of perfect beauty.
My sides are raised up in the heart of the seas,
The princes of the sea were my builders.
Of cypress-trees from Senir have they fashioned
All thy planks;
They have taken a cedar from Lebanon
To make a mast for thee.
Of the highest of the oaks of Bashan
Have they made thine oars;
Thy seat have they made of ivory, inlaid in thyine wood
From the groves of the isle of Kittim.
Of fine linen with richly woven work from Egypt
Was thy sail;
Scarlet was thy standard,
To be to thee for an ensign;

Blue and purple from the isles of Elishah
Was thine awning.
The rulers of Sidon and Arvad
Were thy rowers;
The wise men of Sumur served thee,
They were thy pilots;
The elders of Gebal were in thee,
To be thy calkers;
The men of Mehalleb served thee,
They exchanged thy merchandise.
The Persians, and they of Lud and Put
Were thy men of war;
They hanged the shield and helmet round about thee,
They set forth thy comeliness.
The men of Arvad and Helech
Were upon thy deck round about;
The Gammadim were in thy turrets;
They perfected thy beauty.

Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all thy riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded for thy wares. Javan, Tubal, and Meshech, they were thy traffickers; they traded the persons of men and vessels of brass for thy merchandise. They of the house of Togarmah traded for thy wares, with draft-horses and saddle-horses and mules. The men of Dedan were thy traffickers; from many isles they brought thee for thy merchandise horns of ivory,

and ebony. Edom was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of thy wealth; with

> *Nophek, tarshish* and *bareketh,*
> *Shoham, ramoth* and *chodecod,*

they traded for thy wares. Judah, and the land of Israel, they were thy traffickers; they traded for thy merchandise wheat of Minnith, cakes, and honey, and oil, and balm. Damascus was thy merchant for the multitude of thy wealth; they traded for thy wares the wine of Helbon, and sheepskins of Sahar. Vedan and Jevan from Uzal brought thee for thy merchandise massive iron, cassia, and calamus. Dedan was thy trafficker; the best beasts of burden he brought thee for thy wares. Arabia, and all the princes of Kedar, brought thee lambs, and rams, and goats, for thy merchandise. Sheba and Raamah, they were thy traffickers; they traded for thy wares with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. Haran and Canneh, Eden and Chilmad, they were thy traffickers; they traded for thy merchandise, with gorgeous fabrics, with mantles of blue and richly woven work, and with chests of cypress, bound with cords and cedar-lined.

The ships of Tarshish brought thee riches
For thy merchandise.
So wast thou replenished, and made very heavy
In the heart of the seas.
Thy rowers have brought thee
Into great waters;

The east wind hath broken thee
In the heart of the seas.
Thy riches and thy wares and thy merchandise,
Thy mariners, and thy pilots,
Thy calkers, and the exchangers of thy merchandise,
And all thy men of war,
That are in thee, with all thy company
Which is in the midst of thee,
Shall fall into the heart of the seas
In the day of thy ruin.
At the sound of the cry of thy pilots
The waves shall shake.
And there shall come down from their ships
All that handle the oar,
The mariners, and all the pilots of the sea,
They shall stand upon the land,
And shall cause their voice to be heard over thee
And shall cry bitterly.
They shall cast up dust upon their heads,
And shall roll themselves in the ashes;
And they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee,
And gird them with sackcloth.
And they shall weep for thee in bitterness of soul
With bitter lamentation.
And in their wailing they shall take up a lamentation for thee,
And lament over thee:

Who was there like Tyre, fortified
In the midst of the sea?
When thy wares came forth out of the seas,
Thou didst fill many peoples;
With the multitude of thy riches and of thy merchandise
Didst thou enrich the kings of the earth.
Now that thou art broken by the seas
In the depths of the waters,
And thy merchandise and all thy company
Are fallen in the midst of thee,
All the inhabitants of the isles
Are appalled at thee,
And their kings are horribly afraid,
They are troubled in their countenance;
The merchants among the peoples clap their hands,
And hiss at thee;
Thou art come to a terrible end,
And shalt be no more in the age.

THE "PRINCE OF TYRE"

EZEKIEL XXVIII

And the word of the Lord came unto me, saying: Son of man, say unto the prince of Tyre: Thus saith the Lord God:

Because thy heart is lifted up,
        And thou hast said:
I am a god, I sit in the seat of God,
        In the heart of the seas;
Though thou didst set thy heart as the heart of God,
        Yet thou art man, and not God.
There is no secret that they can hide from thee,
        Behold, thou art wiser than Daniel!
By thy wisdom and by thy discernment
        Thou hast gotten thee riches,
And hast gotten gold and silver
        Into thy treasures;
In thy great wisdom by thy traffic
        Hast thou increased thy riches,
And thy heart is lifted up because of thy riches—
        Therefore thus saith the Lord God:
Because thou hast set thy heart
        As the heart of God;
Therefore, behold, I will bring strangers upon thee,
        The terrible of the nations;

And they shall draw their swords against the beauty
Of thy wisdom,
And they shall defile thy brightness,
They shall bring thee down to the pit;
And thou shalt die the deaths of them that are slain
In the heart of the seas.
Wilt thou yet say before him that slayeth thee:
I am God?
But thou art man, and not God,
In the hand of them that defile thee.
Thou shalt die the deaths of the uncircumcised
By the hand of strangers;
For I have spoken,
Saith the Lord God.

THE "KING OF TYRE"

Moreover the word of the Lord came unto me, saying: Son of man, take up a lamentation for the king of Tyre, and say unto him: Thus saith the Lord God:

Thou seal most accurate, perfect in beauty,
Thou wast in Eden the garden of God;
Every precious stone was thy covering;
Odem, *pitdah* and *yahalom*,
Tarshish, *shoham* and *yashepheh*,
Sappir, *nophek* and *bareketh*,
In gold finely wrought were they set.
In the day of thy creation, with the Cherub, I placed thee
Upon the holy mountain of God;
Thou hast walked in the thick clouds and darkness,
The hailstones and coals of fire.
Thou wast perfect in thy ways from the day of thy creation,
Till unrighteousness was found in thee.
Filled with violence and with sin, thou hast been cast forth as defiled
Out of the mountain of God;
The Cherub hath driven thee out
From the midst of the stones of fire.

Thy heart was lifted up because of thy beauty,
By thy splendor is thy wisdom corrupted.
By reason of the multitude of thine iniquities
I have cast thee to the ground;
I have laid thee before kings,
That they may gaze upon thee.
In the unrighteousness of thy traffic
Thou hast defiled thy sanctuary;
Therefore will I raise up a fire round about thee,
It shall devour thee;
And I will turn thee to ashes upon the earth
In the sight of all them that behold thee.
All they that know thee among the peoples
Shall be appalled at thee;
Thou art come to a terrible end,
And shalt be no more in the age.

• • •

Such are the articles of commerce that appear in these "commercial chapters" of Ezekiel. Clearly they do not make up a total of the items of trade of Tyre or of the Neo-Babylonian empire. This is no list of the articles dutiable at Tyre, or at Haran or Bozrah, or taxable at Babylon. They are chosen because of their previous appearance in the Hebrew scriptures

and their suggestion of tabernacle, temple, palace, and priestly spoil. They are arranged by the prophet, true to his emblematic method, as a symbolic geographical picture. The statements made as to their origin are doubtless correct; but the object in making them was to add vividness to his lesson of the inviolability of sacred institutions. An economic commentary on such a symbolic picture must have much the same standing as a similar commentary on any other work of art; such, for instance, as Michelangelo's "Last Judgment," Leonardo da Vinci's "Last Supper," or a poem such as the following:

Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon,
Down with me from Lebanon to sail upon the sea.
The ship is wrought of ivory, the decks of gold, and thereupon
Are sailors singing bridal songs and waiting to cast free.

Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon,
The rowers there are ready and will welcome thee with shouts.
The sails are silken sails and scarlet, cut and sewn in Babylon,
The scarlet of the painted lips of women thereabouts.

And there for thee is spikenard, calamus and cinnamon,
Pomegranates and frankincense and flagons full of wine,
And cabins carved in cedar wood that came from scented Lebanon,
And all the ship and singing crew and rowers there are thine.

Come with me from Lebanon, my spouse, with me from Lebanon,
They're hauling up the anchor and but tarrying there for thee;
The boatswain's whistling for a wind, a wind to blow from Lebanon,
A wind from scented Lebanon to blow them out to sea.

—I. C. in Mosher's *Amphora*

NOTES TO THE ALLEGORY

ANCIENT SHIPS were of similar designs; and as the Greeks followed and developed Phoenician ideas, it is possible from the fuller accounts that remain of their shipbuilding to state the principal features of Phoenician vessels. Warships were light and speedy, long and narrow, and depended for propulsion more on oars than sails. Cargo ships were heavy and slow, broad of beam, and depended on sail power with oars as auxiliaries. Hulls were usually of pine on cargo ships and of fir on warships; but cypress and cedar were also used. Keels were of selected pine with false-keels of oak; warships had keels of oak with false-keels of beech. Pine and plane, elm and ash, mulberry and lime and acacia, were used in the interior. The masts and yards, also the oars, were of fir or pine. The timbers were held together by wooden pegs or metal nails, the former preferred; and they could be taken apart for overland transit. Oars were of moderate size, for a crew could make a forced march when each man was carrying his oar and appurtenances. The Phoenicians built two-banked ships for Sennacherib, and Herodotus mentions three-banked ships in the time of Necho. Two-banked ships had 118 rowers, 58 in the lower and 60 in the upper bank. Three-banked ships had 170, with 30 working from the upper deck. Merchant-ships had about 20 on the deck only. Warships with their banks of oars were likened to birds, and cargo-ships to tubs or chests or arks. Phoenician ships had figureheads of horses; hence the fable of the winged horse, which was an oared ship, while the wooden horse of Troy may have been a cargo-ship admitted to the harbor. The outer framework consisted of keel and ribs; there was no stern post, the planking being carried upward to meet the deck; there was no stem post, unless built to carry a ram. The skin was formed of planking laid upon the ribs, and fastened through them to the beams. It was strengthened by long timbers fastened outside, known as belts; warships were further strengthened by cables or girdles. The Phoenician ships built for Sennacherib had the oars of the first bank passed over the gunwale, and those of the second bank midway between the tholes of the first and somewhat lower down. They were of no great height; 1 foot of freeboard was calculated for each bank of oars, and the upper decks of these Phoenician

ships was about 4 feet above the gunwale. This was a heavy superstructure, and was the post of combatants while in action, and occupied by dignitaries during voyages. Attached to its upright timbers and about 1 foot above the gunwale was the gangway, where combatants were also posted. Ships carried screens to close the space between upper deck and gangway, and to protect the rowers from missiles; there were also bulwarks for the water. Awnings were spread along each side to cover the open space below the upper deck, to protect the rowers from sun and spray and to conceal the fighters for a surprise attack; every ship carried 2 pairs, one of sail cloth, and one of horse-hair or hide. The former were of the same material as the sails, and were stored in the same chests. There were little decks at stem and stern, somewhat above the level of the beams; these supported the deck-structure. The stern had a seat, or a tier of seats, for the helmsman and others in command; but this did not necessitate a separate deck there. Ships generally had a deck-house at the stern for the commander and his friends, usually of wicker work or awnings, but sometimes of solid construction. These might be fitted up with many luxuries, and with covered walks alongside, with vines and fruit trees in pots. Ships also carried turrets on the upper decking to enable their crews to shoot down missiles on an enemy. A merchant-ship might carry as many as 8 turrets of 3 stories. The rams were of bronze, usually a sheathing over a core of timber, and often had 3 teeth. Later they were given the shape of a boar's head. Ships carried statues of gods or goddesses to distinguish their allegiance, or to obtain a safe voyage. Steering was done with a pair of large oars at the stern, one on either side, and fastened by loops of rope to the sides of the ship just below the gunwale. There was a tiller in the loom or handle of each steering oar and a piece of gear to join these tillers, so that the helmsman could turn both oars at once. The Phoenician ships built for Sennacherib had 1 mast, 1 yard, 1 square sail, 2 fore stays and 1 back stay, 4 other ropes, and sheets, braces and brailing ropes. These last were passed through rings on the fore side of the sail (in Egypt on the after side) then through separate pulleys on the yard; thence to the stern, where they were made fast to pins, so that the steerer could manage them. When brailed up, the sail hung in baggy folds, so that in reliefs on coins it looks like separate sails on the same yard. The sail was generally of linen, but also of papyrus and other rushes. Sail cloth was of different qualities.

The edges of the sail were bound with hide; that of the hyena or the seal especially, because of the belief in their special efficacy for keeping off the lightning. The ropes were sometimes of hides, but oftener of papyrus, flax or hemp. Sails were often colored; black was a sign of mourning, and purple or scarlet the badge of an admiral or monarch. In war time the sails were dyed the color of sea-water. In Roman times the titles or emblems of the emperor were displayed on his sail in gold. The admiral's ship was distinguished by some sort of flag in addition to any purple or scarlet sail that she might carry; after dark a light was shown instead of the flag. In a Roman fleet the admiral's ship carried 3 lights, each transport 2, and each warship 1. Enemies were misled by screening lights or setting them adrift. A national flag or emblem was carried in battle. The admiral's ship carried signal-flags; a purple signal meant going into action. Signals were also flashed from shields.

(Torr, Ancient Ships; from which the following references:—Iliad, i, 434, 480-481; ii, 509-510; vii, 5-6; xvi, 482-484; Odyssey, ii, 46, 426-427; iii, 10-11; iv, 708-709; v, 163-164, 239-260, 316-318; ix, 322-324; xi, 124-125; xii, 170-172, 178-179, 409-412, 422-425; xiii, 74; xxi, 390-391; Herodotus, i, 24; iii, 36, 86, 96; iii, 37, 136; vi, 95, 115; vii, 25, 34, 100, 181; viii, 92, 97, 118; Thucydides, i, 10, 49, ii, 56, 93; Xenophon, Anab. v, 8, 1; v, 1, 11-16; Hellen. i, 6, 19, ii, 1, 27; Aeschylus, Sept. con. Theb. 62, 857-858; Persae, 69, 408-409; Prometheus, 468; Euripides, Iph. in Taur. 410, 1043; Hecuba, 1080-1081; Medea, 278; Troades, 94; Cyclops, 14-15; Helena, 1590-1591; Iph. in Aul. 239-241; Phaethon, Fr. 2, 42; Pindar, Isthmia, iii, 89; Sophocles, Andromeda, Fr. 2, ap. Athen. xi, 64; Aristophanes, Aves, 598; Equites, 756; Acharn. 544-547; Demosthenes, in Lacrit. 18; Plato, leges, p705C, civitas p616C, politicus p272E, Protagoras, 338; Aristotle, de animal. incessu, 10; mechanica, 6,8; Corp. Inscr. Attic. ii, 797-800, 807-808, 789; Arrian, Anab. v, 8; vi. 13; vii, 16, 19; Fr. 19 ap. Suid.; Strabo, ii, 3, 4; iv, 4, 1; xv, 1, 15; xvi, 1, 11; Epicharmus, ap. Athen. vii, 114; Antiphanes, ap. Athen. xi, 102; Scylax, peripl. 112; Theophrastus, hist. plant. iv, 2, 8; iv, 8, 4; v, 1, 6; v, 7, 3; Apollonius Rhodius, i, 369-370; i, 566-567; ii, 79-81; Plutarch, quaest. conviv. iv, 2, 1; v, 3, 1; Antonius, 26, 64; Themistocles, 14; Demetrius, 43; de fortuna Rom. 4, 9; praecept. ger. rei publ. 15, 16; Theseus, 17; Alcibiades, 32; de tranq. anim. 3; Lysander, 11; Lucullus, 7; Apuleius, Metamorph. xi, 16).

PLACE OF TRAFFIC. LXX, *τῷ ἐμπορίῳ τῶν λαῶν, ἀπὸ νήσων πολλῶν.* This assumes מאיים instead of MT אל־איים.

A SHIP: Wellhausen's restoration, אנוה before אני , to complete the line.

MY SIDES, etc.: Cheminant's reading, from LXX *βεελειμ*, extended to complete the verse.

PRINCES, etc.: reading (ב)ל-בעלי ים for כללו יפיך.

THE MATERIALS of which the ship "Tyre" was built are also materials of which the tabernacle and temple were constructed.

CYPRESS: cf. 1 Kings V, 22; 2 Chron. II, 7 (temple).

SENIR: Deut. III, 9, "Mount Hermon which the Amorites call Shenir"; but 1 Chron. V, 23 and Cant. IV, 8 distinguish it from Hermon. It is Anti-Libanus, N. of Damascus.

PLANKS: of the hull; but cf. the BOARDS of the tabernacle, Ex. XXVI, 15, קרשך in both.

CEDAR: cf. 1 Kings V, 22; 2 Chron. II, 7 (temple).

LEBANON was famous for its forests; its cedar was sent to many markets and as tribute to many kings.

MAST: in the singular; Phoenician ships had but one mast; cf. Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, II pl. 71; Torr, Ancient Ships. But cf. also, the PILLARS of the veil, Ex. XXVI, 32.

THE HIGHEST OF: to complete the verse; so Bertholet, Kraetzschmar, Cheminant.

BASHAN: E. of the Jordan ; as to oaks of B. cf. Is. II, 13. Oak was not sent for the temple, but Bashan supplied rams, the skins of which covered the tent of the tabernacle; Ex. XXVI, 14, Deut. XXXII, 14.

OARS: cf. the PILLARS of the hangings of the court, Ex. XXVI, 10. And this oak may be an echo of the oak under which the stone was set up as witness of the Law: Josh. XXIV, 26: cf. Isa. I, 29 for earlier uses of oaks.

IVORY INLAID: JR, larch; AV and RV, boxwood. But the reference is to Solomon's throne, 1 Kings X, 18.

SEAT. That this line is confused appears from the diversity of the translations. The ancient ship had its helmsman's seat at the highest point above the stern, giving a clear view of everything in the vessel and of the sea before it. The reference is to this seat, and to the officer occupying it, rather than to the benches of the galley-slaves, as AV, RV, DV, or to the deck, as JR, or to the rudder, as Leeser's version. The seat of the helmsman thus

stands for the royal throne. This was of ivory and gold. "Ashurim" of AV, is wrong for תאשור, which is from אשר "to be tall" and is a species of cedar. It appears also in Isa. XLI, 19 together with cypress and pine, clearly a group of conifers. "Boxwood" of RV is wrong, and "larch" of JR is not much better. This word looks like a continuation of the cedar and cypress of the preceding couplet, making a triad of woods like that in 2 Chr. II, 7; hence "thyine" is preferred because of association with that verse and with Rev. XVIII, 12. The second half of the line is equally uncertain. LXX suggests a sacred grove: *ἐξ ἐλέφαντος οἴκους ἀλσώδεις ἀπὸ νήσων τῶν Χετιείμ.* Ivory appears as coming from Nubia via Dedan (15) but W. M. Müller (Asien u. Europa, 336) quotes a record of shipment of ivory from Cyprus to Egypt, and suggests ivory-carving industry in Cyprus. The text says only that the wood came from the forest, or groves, of Cyprus. "Grove" suggests a sacred enclosure, and the seat itself may suggest the oracle. Hence the reading of LXX seems worth retaining. The helmsman's seat symbolizes a throne, royal or oracular, or both. LXX suggests כתו אשרים. Targ., דאשכרעין — כתאשרים. cf. Isa. XLI, 19, אשכרעין — תאשור.

An upper-structure, as DV "cabins" from Vulg. praeteriola, might be either the deck-house at the stern, or the shrine for the protecting deity.

Cedar, cypress and thyine=cedar, cypress and algum of 2 Chr. II, 7, algum being a late variant, a Pali word substituted for the Hebrew original.

Algum	Cedar	Cypress	
אלגומים	ארזים	ברושים	2 Chr. IX, 11
κέδρινα	*ἀρκεύθινα*	*πεύκινα*	*πεύκινα*
cedrina	arceutina	pinea	thyina

This תאשור may therefore be a variant of thyine

The following is the classification of conifers given in Gray's Manual of Botany:

CONIFERAE

1. Pinaceae	
1. Abietineae.	
1. Pinus	Pine
2. Picea	Spruce
3. Tsuga	Hemlock
4. Abies	Fir
5. Larix	Larch
2. Taxodieae.	
6. Taxodium	Bald Cypress
3. Cupressineae.	
7. Chamaecyparis	Cypress
8. Thuya	Arbor Vitae, White Cedar, [Thyine]
9. Juniperus	Juniper, Red Cedar
2. Taxaceae	
10. Taxus	Yew

The woods mentioned in these Old Testament lists are of the tribe Cupressineae.

SHORES OF KITTIM. Kition was a Phoenician colony in Cyprus. The same word איים means "shore" and "island." Whether both wood and ivory, or the former only came from Cyprus, does not definitely appear. Ivory was a product of Nubia, and appears in this same chapter (v. 15) as coming through Dedan; but W. M. Müller (Asien u. Europa, 336) quotes a record of shipment of ivory from Cyprus to Egypt, and suggests ivory-carving industry in Cyprus and Cilicia.

FINE LINEN: cf. the VEIL and SCREEN. Ex. XXVI, 31, 36: 2 Chron. III, 14.

EGYPT: the linen of that country was largely exported, and while the industry existed also in Phoenicia, it is probable that many of the "Sidonian fabrics" mentioned in the Odyssey were Egyptian.

SCARLET. The first half of this line is supplied conjecturally from Numbers II, 2 and IV, 6-8-13. The cloths of the tabernacle were of three hues, blue, purple and scarlet:—

Blue	בגד תכלת	*ἱμάτιον ὅλον ὑακίνθινον*
Purple	בגד ארגמן	*ἱμάτιον ὁλοπόρφυρον*
Scarlet	בגד תולעת שני	*ἱμάτιον κόκκινον*
Sealskins	עור תחש	*δέρμα ὑακίνθινον*
Standard	דגלו	*τάγμα*
Ensigns	אתות	*σημαίας*
Embroidered Cloth	שש ברקמה	*βύσσος μετὰ ποικιλίας*
Twined Linen	שש משזר	*βύσσου κεκλωσμένης*

The first two were from the murex or purple mussel, the last from the kermes insect. When the camp was to journey, the ark was to be covered with cloth of blue and sealskin, the showbread with cloth of scarlet and sealskin, and the ashes from the altar with cloth of purple and sealskin. When the camp was pitched, every man was to encamp by his standard, with ensigns according to his fathers' houses, round about the tent of meeting. The standard was the larger banner, serving for three tribes together; the ensigns were smaller flags for the separate tribes. This tradition is used also in Cant. II, 4:

He hath brought me to the banqueting-house,
And his banner over me is love.

According to a rabbinical tradition, the ensign of the tribe of Levi was of three colors, white, black (blue purple) and red. Thus the ship "Tyre", with white sail, red standard and purple awning, recalls the Levites who served in the temple, whereof the sacred substances were all in her hold. This half-line is not to be deleted, as most commentators would have it, but is to be completed and retained, as necessary to the legend.

ENSIGN: cf. Is. XIII, 2: "Set ye up an ensign upon the high mountain."

BLUE AND PURPLE: different shades of the murex dye; "blue purple" and "scarlet purple" in Cheminant's reading. The reference is to the blue, purple, scarlet and fine linen for the tabernacle: Ex. XXV, 4. תכלת וארגמן cf. Assyr. takiltu argamannu, Delitzsch AHW 129a.

ELISHAH: perhaps Carthage, whose queen was Elissa, or Dido (so Movers, Meyer, Delitzsch, Kraetzschmar), The Phoenicians established island colonies for murex culture as demand outran supply; cf. Tammuz-mourning on Paxos, misinterpreted as the death of Pan, (Plutarch, De Defectu Orac. XVII). Schoff, Tammuz, Pan, and Christ, Open Court, XXVI, 9: XXVII, 8. W. M. Müller and Gunkel prefer Alashia in Cyprus, of the Tel-el-Amarna letters.

SIDON had been destroyed by Esarhaddon in B. C. 676, but was rebuilt; cf. Jer. XXV, 22, XXVII, 3; Ezek. XXVIII, 20; Eiselen, Sidon, 56-57.

ARVAD, now Ruad, N. Phoenician island and town, mentioned in the Amarna letters and in the Assyrian annals, from Tiglath-Pileser I who embarked in "ships of the country of Arvad" to Ashurbanipal, whose feet a king of Arvad came to Nineveh to kiss. Strabo, XVI, 2, 14, mentions men of Arvad as able mariners.

SUMUR: reading צמר for MT צור . so Cheminant, following Kraetzschmar; Tyre in the text (Sur) being obviously an error. Sumur, Greek Σίμυρος, now Sumra, (Zemar of Gen. X, 18 and 1 Chron. I, 16) S. of Arvad, appears in the Amarna letters; it revolted against Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon.

GEBAL: on the coast about half-way between Sidon and Arvad; often associated with Tyre and Sidon in the Assyrian inscriptions; its men appear in 1 Kings V, 32 as able builders; the Amarna letters mention shipping rivalry between Gebal and Arvad. Greek Βύβλος.

MEHALLEB: so Cheminant, from his corrections in the Hebrew; appears in inscriptions of Sennacherib and Ashur-natsir-pal; cf. Judges I, 31; on the site of the modern Tripoli. See however Eiselen, Sidon, 43, n. 3. Assumes כל־אנשי מחלב היו בך. 9 is parallel to 27.

EXCHANGERS: trade was on a basis of barter, manufactures for natural products, and required a service other than that for operating the vessel; cf. Bérard, Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée, I, 395, 398.

FOUR BRANCHES of service in the ship "Tyre" called for the best men of the cities of Phoenicia; the same four appear at the wreck of the ship, v. 27.

PERSIA, LUD, PUT. פרס ולוד ופוט. Phoenicians built and manned the Assyrian navy; were maritime carriers for Neo-Babylonia; had been familiar for centuries with the voyages in Red Sea and the Persian Gulf. Hence it is not impossible that

these three peoples represent extremes in their voyages, and that Lud is Lydia, and Put, as Müller suggests, (Asien u. Europa, 114), the Land of Punt of the Egyptian inscriptions, the shores of the Gulf of Aden, especially the Somali coast. It seems more probable, however, that all three are peoples found in central Arabia. Tyrian galleys, coasting Arabia, controlled the commerce of Babylonia on both its seas. Persian activity in E. Arabia was constant; Persian conquests of its gold fields probably preceded the Persian conquest of Babylon; the Periplus, 33, has half the S. coast Persian; Hamdani in his Jezirat has a great Persian mining community in the mountains of Yemama. Lud appears as a son of Mizraim (Egypt), Gen. X, 13; and a son of Shem, Gen. X, 22, and if these two passages in the genealogical tables are of different dates, they may refer to the same people in Arabia. Glaser (Skizze 333-337) believes Put to be a W. Arabian people, S. of Jebel Shammar, and N. of the Minaeans. He identifies them with Budaa or Putaa of the Esarhaddon inscriptions, in the land of Bazu or Buz (cf. Gen. XXII, 21-22), and with Puta of the Naqs-i-Rustam inscription of Darius. Cush, Put and Ludim were auxiliaries of Pharaoh Necho against Nebuchadrezzar (Jer. XLVI, 9); Glaser suggests the use of "Cush" in Arabia to denote foreign influence, especially Persian, which grew notably before the Persian conquest of Babylon. In Isaiah (LXVI, 19) Tarshish, Put and Lud appear together as men "that draw the bow". This is a late text in which, as in 1 Kings X, 21-22 and II Chron. IX, 20-21, Tarshish intrudes apparently in substitution for some Arabian tribe, or perhaps for Persians. It seems probable that these three names all refer to central Arabia; that the Ophir voyages were undertaken to avoid the unsafe conditions on the caravan routes which they vaguely suggest, and that they were discontinued after the resumption of normal conditions in Arabia.

MEN OF WAR: ships had fighting men aboard for defence, and galleries outside the rowers' benches where they were stationed; there were deck structures for bowmen and casters of javelins; hence this section, criticized by some as concerned with land operations and outside the "ship" allegory, is quite in order. Cf. Layard, Monuments of Nineveh, II pl. 71, for illustrations. Cf. also the shields and targets of the house of the forest of Lebanon, 1 Kings X, 16-17.

HELECH: cf. Jer. XV, 13; Chalkis W. of Damascus (so Winckler); Halevy suggests a Phoenician colony in Cilicia.

GAMMADIM: cf. Hamath, Gen. X, 18. Babylonian Kumidi, Egyptian Kamadu, a district in S. Phoenicia (so Kraetzschmar; cf. Müller, Asien u. Europa, 193, 396).

BDELLIUM, Gen. II, 12: בדלח from root בדל select, precious; rabb. int., pearl.

CORAL, Ezek. XXVII, 16: ראמות from root ראם costly, rabb. int. coral, but the same word means coral and pearl, and in the original the two passages were probably identical.

PEARL, Rev. XVIII, 12, 16: this perhaps gives the correct reading of the two preceding. Cf. Assyr. inscrr. "product of the sea."

PROSE INTERLUDE: Cheminant would carry 12-24 to the end of the chapter, separating it from the "ship" allegory; but the order of the text is more in the Hebrew method.

TARSHISH: here probably Tartessus (Herodotus IV, 152) in Baetica, S. Spain, near the modern Cadiz. The metals are produced in Spain or could have been brought thither. The coast from Cadiz to Huelva commands the valleys of the Guadalquivir, and the Guadiana, one of the richest mineral districts in Europe. A town named Tharsis, 20 m. N. of Huelva, maintains the tradition.

Benjamin of Tudela, however, identifies Tarshish with the region of Tarsus; he refers to the port of Malmistras, "which is Tarshish, situated by the sea; and thus far extends the kingdom of the Javanim or Greeks" (ed. Adler, p. 15). The products named for Tarshish are quite possible for Asia Minor, if we read zinc for tin; both were alloys of copper, the distinction between them was seldom understood, and the reference is to the vessels of the temple. There is some reason to prefer this reading, which would confine Ezekiel's trade-picture to ports within his own range of acquaintance.

SILVER: the reference is to the sockets and hooks of the tabernacle, Ex. XXVI, 19, 21, 25, 32.

IRON: for the temple, 1 Chron. XXIX, 2; for its purification as spoil, Num. XXXI, 22; armor for Solomon's army, 2 Chron. IX, 24.

TIN: as above, 1 Chron. XXIX, 2; Num. XXXI 22. An ingredient of bronze, for weapons, and of brass, for vessels, utensils, and pillars.



Tiglath-Pileser III, in his State Chariot
Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon.*
(See pp. 20, 56)

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MOUNT ARARAT



MOUNT DEMAVEND

(See pp. 39, 43, 90, 91)

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LEAD: an item of spoil to be purified, Num. XXXI, 22; perhaps confused also with zinc, a product of Spain, and an ingredient of brass.

WARES, not fairs as AV: cf. Toy, and Haupt's note, Sacred Books of O. T., 12.

JAVAN:-Ionia, -W. Asia Minor, the Aegean islands, and the Greek settlements on the Black Sea coast of Asia Minor.

TUBAL: Tabalu of the Assyrian inscriptions, Tibareni of Herodotus (III, 91; VII, 78) dwelt from the Anti-Taurus to the Black Sea. Cf. Tubal-Cain of Gen. IV, 22.

MESHECH: Assyr. Musku, Herod. Moschi; northern Asia Minor to E. of Taurus.

JAVAN, TUBAL AND MESHECH are sons of Japheth in the tribal lists, Gen. X, 2.

PERSONS OF MEN: נפש אדם here and Lev. XXIV, 17: Num. XXV, 40, 46: 1 Chron. V, 21. Tyre had an active slave-trade (Joel IV, 6; Amos I, 9); Herodotus mentions Greek slaves in Egypt (II, 135) and slave markets at Samos, Sardis (III, 48) Ephesus (VIII, 105) Chios; Xenophon (Anab. I, 10) mentions a market at Miletus. But our reference is rather to the "persons" who were set apart as priestly spoil, Num. XXXI, 28. And may we not infer that "persons" suggest also the captives by Chebar?

VESSELS OF BRASS: from the Chalybean copper field above mentioned. Brass was used in the tabernacle, especially for the altar and its utensils; (Ex. XXVII, 2-6) in the temple (1 Chron. XXIX, 2; 2 Chron. II, 13) especially for the entrance pillars (1 Kings VII, 15-22); and when Ezekiel wrote, Nebuchadrezzar's pillage of pillars, altar and utensils, and brazen sea from the temple, was clearly remembered (2 Kings XXV, 13-17). They were stored in the treasure-house at Babylon.

TOGARMAH: in Gen. X, 3, a son of Gomer, son of Japheth. Armenia or a portion of it: Delitzsch quotes an Assyrian inscription concerning a town Tilgarimmu, on the borders of Tubal. Its horses are described by Herodotus (I, 194, VII, 40) Xenophon (Anab. IV, 5, 34) Strabo (XI, 13, 9).

DRAFT-HORSES, SADDLE-HORSES AND MULES: Cf. 1 Kings V, 2 for the chariots and cavalry of Solomon, and 2 Chron. IX, 24, for his mules. פרשים cannot mean "horsemen", as AV. from LXX ἱππεῖς. The distinction is between saddle and vehicle.

DEDAN: perhaps a town connected with Edom (Jer. XLIX, 8; Ezek. XXV, 13) through which passed caravans from S. Arabia. "From" many isles, so LXX, ἀπὸ νήσων. Ivory and ebony were products of Nubia; the Periplus, 34, mentions them, with rhinoceros horn, as exported from Ptolemais Theron and Adulis on the W. shore of the Red Sea. "Tusks" of ivory would be more correct than "horns".

IVORY AND EBONY: Cf. Solomon's throne (1 Kings X, 18-20) and his Ophir voyages, which coasted Arabia; (2 Chron. IX, 21).

EDOM: Idumea; cf. Num. XX, 18, where Edom forbade Moses passage. 2 Sam. VIII, 14; 2 Kings VIII, 20; 2 Chron. XXI, 8.

NOPHEK, ETC. The present version is that of Cheminant, following the LXX. These precious stones are a part of the priest's breast-plate, Ex. XXVIII, 17-20. MT has a confusion of fabrics and gems, the verse beginning with ארם whence AV Syria. But the fabrics have been listed in 7, the sail and awning; and Damascus follows in 18; so that אדם seems preferable. LXX is corrupt, having ἀνθρώπους. But it has only one fabric, ποικίλματα, qualified by ἐκ Θαρσεὶς, which is also the name of a stone. Following Cornill, MT ארגמן and בוץ are omitted; ורקמה, read by LXX ורקמות, altered to וברקת, and ותרשיש inserted from LXX, giving the line a consistent sequence.

RAMOTH, AV and RV coral. ראמות, ῥαμόθ literally "high-priced" things; the interpretation is rabbinical. In the Apocalypse this becomes "pearl"; μαργαρῖτα applies to both.

CHODECOD MT כדכד, AV agate, RV rubies. LXX χορχόρ, which may be the correct transliteration of the original Hebrew. This may have some connection with root כור, to pierce, and (like the Babylonian *hulalu* also from a root meaning to pierce) may mean coral or pearl.

MINNITH: Ammonite town mentioned in Judges XI, 33. Ammon was a source of supply of wheat; a large tribute to Jotham, of wheat and barley, is described in 2 Chron. XXVII, 5; Solomon gave Hiram wheat and barley, wine and oil, in return for cedar, cypress and marble from Lebanon, 2 Chron. II, 9. Here again Judah appears as a dealer in Ammonite grain.

CAKES, HONEY. ופנג ; Targ. קוליא — קלי. Clearly a food-offering, possibly for דבלה "fig-cake" or ענבים "raisin-cake". That the meaning is cake of some sort appears from LXX, *μύρων*. So Cant. II, 5 has *ἐν μύροις* for באשישות, and in Hos. III, 1 אשישי ענבים is raisin-cake, offered to אל־אלהים.

Cf. 1K. XIX, 6: עגת רצפים, cakes baked on hot stones. The reference is probably to the shewbread, Ex. XXV, 30; it was baked in twelve cakes, Lev. XXIV, 5. WHEAT was specified for the flour for the tabernacle offering, Ex. XXIX, 2, also cakes unleavened mingled with oil. "Cakes" is the LXX, *μύρων*, rendered in Cant. II, 5 as "dainties" and in Hosea III, 1 as "cakes". The Targum has "parched corn", which was the meal offering of firstfruits, Lev. II, 14. HONEY was forbidden for the burnt offering, Lev. II, 11; but not for the shewbread; and it had an important part in the tradition; balm and honey, spices and myrrh, nuts and almonds, made up the present for the ransom of Benjamin, Gen. XLIII, 11; and it was by Jonathan's eating wild honey, in disobedience of his father Saul's command, that a victory was gained over the Philistines. 1 Sam. XIV, 24-31. Honey was the first ingredient of the Egyptian *kyphi*: Plutarch, de Is. et Osir. 81.

OIL, olive oil, an important product of Palestine. It was burned in the lamp before the veil, Ex. XXVII, 20-21. The cakes and wafers of the offering were anointed with it, Ex. XXIX 2; it was the basis of the anointing oil, Ex. XXX, 24.

BALM; a concoction of the juices of several trees and shrubs native in Palestine: perhaps *Liquidambar*, *Balsamodendron*, and *Pistacia*. As *ushu* it appears in Babylonian inscriptions, and as *su-ho* it was carried even to China (Glaser, Skizze, 359-366; Hirth, China and the Roman Orient, 263). Cf. Gen. XXXVII, 25, XLIII, 11. It may have been the same as the *stacte* of the incense, Ex. XXX, 34.

DAMASCUS: situated at the meeting-point of the caravan routes between the Euphrates, the Mediterranean and the Nile, this was an ancient center of trade. Strabo says that during the Persian period it was one of the best cities in Syria (XV, 2, 20).

WINE OF HELBON: Assyrian Hilbunu, N. W. of Damascus. Mentioned in Assyrian wine-lists (I Rawl. 65, 1, 24) also of Nebuchadrezzar. The Persian kings had it (Strabo, XV, 3, 22); but the reference is to the drink-offering, Ex. XXIX 40; and to the law of tithes, Deut. XIV, 26.

SHEEPSKINS: צמר צחר Targum, rather than "wool" of the Hebrew. Sahar may be the same as Sicharia between Palestine and the Euphrates. The reference is to the rams' skins for the tent-covering, Ex. XXVI, 14. LXX has ἔρια ἐκ Μελήτου, but μηλωτή is to be assumed; Targ. מילת. The same word is used by LXX for Elijah's mantle, 1K. XIX, 13: באדרתו from אדר "large"; it, too, was probably of sheepskin.

VEDAN, JEVAN, UZAL: MT ודן ויון מאוזל, which readily admits of this version. Cf. Glaser, (Skizze, 327-437) who locates all three in a line through Medina to Jebel Shammar. Vedan is Waddan between Mecca and Medina; Jevan (cf. the Jevanim of Joel IV, 6, who were associated with Sheba) is Jaun or Jajn, about 24 Arabic miles from Medina; Uzal he would identify with Azalla of the Ashurbanipal inscriptions, 10 miles E. of Medina, by the Wadi el Hams. But the southern Uzal, the modern Sanaa, 150 m. NNE. of Mocha, is a possibility, as is the port of Ocelis at the straits) cf. Periplus, 25). "Javan" is less probable. Pliny (VI, 159) mentions a Milesian colony Ampelone, identified by Sprenger with Wadi El Amud; but whether it existed in Ezekiel's day is uncertain.

MASSIVE IRON: MT ברזל עשות. AV "bright iron"; Kraetzschmar suggests "finely worked", and Cheminant "well polished". But we may have here a correct description of the crucible iron of central and southern India, which the Periplus (6) mentions as coming to the port of Adulis. Cf. Schoff, The Eastern Iron Trade of the Roman Empire, JAOS 35, iii, 224, 239. This iron came to the market in round cakes, and was then fashioned into weapons. Whether this sea-trade had begun in Ezekiel's time is uncertain. Iron was produced in Yemen, and more plentifully in Nubia, whence it could have reached Arabia across the Red Sea as ivory did. The text may mean no more than "pig iron". Ezekiel's reference is to iron as a material for the temple, 1 Chron. XXIX, 2; if for weapons, cf. the purification list in Num. XXXI, 21-24.

CASSIA: an element in the anointing oil, Ex. XXX, 24. The Babylonian *kasu* was apparently senna, (a leguminous shrub, *Cassia angustifolia*), for it was a purge (Jastrow, Medicine of the Babylonians and Assyrians, Trans. Roy. Soc. Med. 7, 2, 133). The Roman cassia was cinnamon, from S. India and E. Himalayas. The cassia of Exodus and Ezekiel may have been the bark of some variety of laurel, related to the cinnamon, produced

in the Horn of Africa, "from the eastern termination of the Singali Mts. to Hafun (below C. Guardafui), on the southern slope of the hills facing the humid SW. monsoons, and probably standing on a silicious rock succeeding to the limestone" (Cooley, JRAS 1849, 19, 166-191); but inquiries recently made in this region, the Mijertain, now mainly Italian Somaliland, by Drake-Brockman, failed to produce any evidence of its existence. Italian explorations to date indicate the total absence of laurel varieties in the Horn of Africa, because of the limestone and calcareous clay everywhere found in that region. *Lauraceae* will not grow where lime is present in the soil. For earlier references see note on p. 25. There is some reason to think that Indian steel and cinnamon both reached the ports of S. Arabia in Ezekiel's time. But Indian evidence is lacking; the Baveru Jataka, which describes a sea-voyage to Babylon, is dated about a century later (B. C. 480) Rhys Davids, Buddhist India, 104. Cf. a passage indicating more primitive sea-trade, quoted by Rhys Davids from the Kevaddhu Sutta (Digha Nikaya) JRAS 1899, p. 432. Glaser (Skizze 40, 41) preferred to identify Ezekiel's cassia as *kadi*, an aromatic palm of Yemen, *Pandanus odoratissimus*. The Hebrew word translated cassia means "things cut," and cinnamon means "things bundled". These words could be applied to many things. For senna, they could distinguish between leaf and pod; and for the tree laurel, between the coarse outer bark and the tender rolled-up inner bark. Herodotus (2, 86; 3, 111) mentions *κασία* as a spice brought from Arabia, and remarks that the Greeks had the word *κιννάμωμον* from the Phoenicians as an equivalent to an Arabian word *καρφέα* meaning "cut sticks." Ben Sira (Ecclus. XXIV, 15) connects cinnamon with aspalathus (*Genista acanthoclada*) a thorny shrub of Palestine, yielding a fragrant oil.

קרה things cut; קנמון bundled; קציעות stripped.

CALAMUS: an element in the anointing oil, Ex. XXX, 24. Jeremiah (VI, 20) mentions "incense from Sheba, and sweet cane from a far country", conceivably India. It may have been the lemon-grass, *Andropogon schoenanthus;* but *Acorus calamus* is also to be considered. Pliny (HN 13, 2) distinguishes between "Syrian calamus" and "Syrian sweet-rush", both components of the Parthian regal ointment. He says (21, 70) that the best came from near the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Egypt. All of which is more confusing than helpful. These three items from Uzal suggest the

port of Ocelis, below Muza (Periplus, 25) which was directly at the straits of Bab-el-mandeb, and which Pliny (6, 104) says was the port for Indian shipping.

DEDAN: this is not the same as the Dedan of v. 15. It was in relations with Kedar and Teima, Is. XXI, 13, Jer. XXV, 23-24. Minaean inscriptions enable us to locate it at or near El-Ela. (Jaussen and Savignac, Revue Biblique, 1910, 531; cf. Glaser, Skizze, 392).

BEASTS: בִגְדֵי חֹפֶשׁ not saddle-cloths, as AV, RV, JR. Syriac and LXX agree in the present reading: *κτηνῶν ἐκλεκτῶν*. So Gen. XLV, 17, "lade your beasts, and go". Cf. the mules of Solomon's gifts, 2 Chron. IX, 24, and the priestly spoil of asses, Num. XXXI, 28. חפש is "loose"; instead of a "spread-out" cloth, it might be a led, rather than a harnessed, beast. LXX assumes בעיר חפע, and בעיר means beasts of burden: Gen. XLV, 17.

ARABIA AND KEDAR: an inscription of Ashurbanipal also mentions Kiidri and Aribi together. These Arabs were a tribe east of Edom. Kedar is an Ishmaelite tribe of the desert, the Cedrei of Pliny, H. N. 5, 12. "Their territory may correspond more or less to that of the great tribe of the Shararat of our time, camped ordinarily between Wadi Sirhan and el-Fedjer to the NW. of Teima" (Jaussen and Savignac, Revue Biblique, 1910, 530; cf. Gen. XXV, 13.)

LAMBS, RAMS AND GOATS: the LXX has camels in place of lambs; but these are beasts of the priestly tradition, and the lambs are for the sacrifice, Ex. XXIX, 38; the rams likewise, Ex. XXIX, 1; the goats were the sin offering (Lev. IX, 3) and they furnished the hair from which were made the curtains for the tent over the tabernacle, Ex. XXVI, 7.

SHEBA AND RAAMAH: two widely-separated places, one in SW, the other in SE. Arabia. But caravan-routes from both met in the Hedjaz and proceeded toward Edom. Sheba is the Sabaean kingdom, Arabia Felix: Herodotus, III, 107-112; Strabo, XVI, 4, 19; Pliny, H. N. VI, 32. For the caravans bringing gold and incense, cf. Is. LX, 6; and for the visit of the queen of Sheba, 1 Kings X, 1-13. The tribal tables throw light on conditions at about this time: (Gen. X, 7) "And the sons of Cush: Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabteca; and the sons of Raamah, Sheba, and Dedan." (Cf. Ps. LXXII, 10). The Sabaeans had possessions as far north as Jebel Shammar; in Job I, 15 and VI,

19 Sheba is a northern people. In Sargon's inscription Sheba appears next to Medina, and in Joel IV, 8 it is linked with Jevan, also near Medina. Cf. Glaser on the "Cushites", Skizze, 387-403.

SPICES: from the S. Arabian caravan-routes; these included myrrh and frankincense, and possibly aloes and cinnamon. The Egyptian Punt expeditions brought back "myrrh, ebony and ivory, gold, cinnamon, incense, eye-paint, apes, monkeys, dogs, panther-skins, natives and their children". Incense-trees were planted in the court of the temple; "heaven and earth are flooded with incense; odors are in the Great House" (Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, II, 288). The Papyrus Harris shows that frankincense was by far the most treasured of the aromatics. There were special rooms in the temple at Jerusalem for storing it under priestly guard (1 Chron. IX, 26-30) and a specified manner of preparing the incense for the ritual (Ex. XXX, 34-35). When one of these rooms was occupied as a dwelling, it was considered a sacrilege (Nehemiah XIII, 4-9). Cf. Cant. III, 6; Is. LX, 6. The Nimrud inscription of Tiglath-pileser III records tribute from Merodach-baladan; gold, precious stones, product of the sea (coral? pearls?), *ushu* wood, *ellutu* wood, party-colored clothing, all kinds of spices. Herodotus (III, 97) says that the Arabs brought to Darius annual tribute of 1,000 talents' weight of frankincense, and that a similar quantity was burnt yearly by the Chaldeans on the altar of Bel at Babylon (I, 183). Alexander counselled economy at the Macedonian altars until he had conquered the incense lands (Pliny, H. N. XII, 32). For the customs and restrictions as to gathering and transporting frankincense, cf. Pliny, XII, 30; Periplus, 24, 29, 32.

PRECIOUS STONES: from the Yemama and the Persian Gulf, from Nubia and India and Ceylon; the reference is to the priest's breastplate, for which stones came also through Edom.

GOLD: the principal Arabian goldfields were in the central mountains; cf. Glaser's list from Hamdani's Jezirat (Skizze, 347-350). The Wadi er Rumma and the Wadi ed Dawasir were worked from ancient times, and caravan routes led N. E. to the Euphrates, E. to the coast of the Persian Gulf, W. to the great N.-S. Arabian route, S.W. to Sheba. The gold that came from Ophir (2 Chron. VIII, 18) was "gold of Parvaim" (2 Chron. III, 6), that is, Sak el Farwain, near the Wadi er Rumma and W. of Rass. Gold was received also from Nubia, via Sheba. The reference is to the gold of the tabernacle, Ex. XXV, 3 etc.

HARAN: Assyrian, Harranu, Greek *Χαῤῥά*, was in N. W. Mesopotamia, on the Balikh, an affluent of the Euphrates, S. E. of Edessa; it was a meeting-point of Syrian and Mesopotamian caravan routes.

CANNEH: Kullani of the inscriptions, against which Tiglath-pileser III led an expedition; in the district of Iadi; Calno, Is. X, 9; Calneh, Amos VI, 2. Greek *Χαύάα*.

SHEBA in 23, not in LXX.

EDEN: the Bit-Adini of the inscriptions, Beth-Eden of Amos I, 5; cf. Is. XXXVII, 12, "children of Eden in Telassar", whence, perhaps, the "Asshur" in the Hebrew text. Middle Euphrates W. of the Balikh. Here the Hebrew again inserts "Sheba"; but it is apparently an interpolation, and is now omitted. Glaser makes its appearance the basis of arguing that Haran, Canneh and Eden are in S. Arabia; but the items of trade do not support him; fine textiles were not S. Arabian products, but were imported there (Periplus, 24).

CHILMAD: Kuulmadara of Tiglath-Pileser III, in the country of Unki,—El Amk N. of Antioch; identified by Winckler with the town of Gindaros mentioned by Strabo (XVI, 2, 8) in the same region (so Cheminant, following Sarskowsky).

GORGEOUS FABRICS, MANTLES OF BLUE, CHESTS OF CYPRESS: a vivid picture, suggesting the passage of a laden caravan as the prophet spoke. Textile art and camel caravans were familiar things in Babylonia. But the reference is, first, to the priest's robe (Ex. XXVIII, 31-35) which was of blue, embroidered with blue, purple, scarlet and gold; second, to the king's garments (1 Kings X, 5, 25); third, perhaps, to the "goodly Shinar mantle" which was among the spoil devoted to the tabernacle that Achan of the tribe of Judah hid in the earth under his tent in the days of Joshua (Jos. VII, 10-26), and for that sin was stoned to death. The chest itself may symbolize the ark of the covenant. גנזי, from גנז to hoard or store. The temple treasury was גנזך. MT has ברומים גנזי : LXX *θησαυροὺς ἐκλεκτούς*.
This ברומים is a word not elsewhere found, and variously rendered: RV rich apparel. Cheminant connects it with Assyr. ***burrumu***, woven in colors; but the reference being to the ark, and ארזים , cedar, appearing in this same phrase, the reading ברושים cypress, is preferred. The chest, or ark, was

thus made of the two woods specified for the temple, cypress and cedar. The cords may stand for the lacing of the mitre-plate.

There is a dual reference here, to the treasure-house at Babylon, in which the sacred vessels from the temple at Jerusalem were stored; and to the ark of the covenant, ארון העדות (Ex. XXV, 22). The root ארה has the same meaning as גנז.

CLAP THEIR HANDS. The line is short. Kr. inserts שפקו before שרקו, easily omitted in copying, and appearing together in Job XXVII, 23.

IN THE AGE. Whether עולם means "without end" as when applied to אל (Gen. XXI, 23) or "a long time" as Isa. XLII, 14, or "a span of life" עד־עולם (1 Sam. I, 22), depends upon circumstances. Here we may follow the LXX, *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*

POLITICAL BACKGROUND: To interpret the succeeding oracle and lamentation upon the "prince of Tyre", recent historical events must be recalled. In B. C. 729, the great Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser III, after gaining control of the Phoenician seaports and of all Babylonia, put an end to the weak Babylonian dynasty, and had himself invested with the sovereignty of Asia in the holy city of Babylon, forcing the priestly hierarchy to do his will. Divinity had been attributed to the Babylonian kings, but it was conferred upon them by the priests, and the Assyrian king took it upon himself by compulsion. In 722 the Babylonians revolted and crowned Merodach-baladan their legitimate king. He reigned 12 years, when he was compelled to flee to the southern marshes, and the Assyrian Sargon was received by the priests of Babylon. His son Sennacherib, who succeeded to the throne in 705, and who invaded Judaea in 701 and exacted a staggering tribute from Hezekiah king of Judah, razed the holy city of Babylon to the ground, in 691, and carried the image of Bel-Marduk to Nineveh. (Jastrow, in Encycl. Brit., art. "Babylonia"). Isaiah, who is of this time, inserts in his prophecy against Asshur the "parable against the king of Babylon", who is the king of Nineveh; and who has angered the Almighty by saying in his heart, "I will ascend into heaven, above the stars of God will I exalt my throne; and I will sit upon the mount of meeting, in the uttermost parts of the north; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High." Thus began the tradition of a "king of Babylon" who was really a king of Assyria, puffed up with pride and clothed with a divinity to which he had no right.

I AM A GOD: this expression of pride of empire is the same as that of the "king of Babylon" of Is. XIV, 12-15, the "day-star, son of the morning."

The parable of the king of Babylon was spoken against the king of Assyria who had pillaged the temple. It expressed political facts, and it gave a measure of safety to them that circulated this prophecy against the oppressor. Similar circumstances influenced the prophecies of Ezekiel. Nebuchadrezzar of Babylon was a worse oppressor, a more ruthless pillager of the temple, and Judah was captive in his domain. Thus there was greater need for giving cryptic expression to a prophecy against him. His words of pride, his assumption of divinity, are the same as those recounted by Isaiah of the Assyrian, and a like fate is prophesied for him; but it is spoken of one against whom Judah had no immediate quarrel, while the oppressor had, and therefore would not punish a cryptic utterance against him. As Babylon for Isaiah represented Nineveh, so Tyre for Ezekiel represented Babylon. Jeremiah, who was Ezekiel's contemporary, could write plainly about Babylon from his refuge in Egypt, and did so: Cf. Jer. LI, 49-58, 63-64.

SEAL. *i.e.*, he was the impression or copy of God; cf. the signet קדש ליהוה in Ex. XXVII, 36. Cf. Cant. VIII, 6, also the signet on the mitre-plate, Ex. XXVIII, 36.

Cf. Zohar, III, 107: "At the moment when the earthly union takes place, the Holy One (blessed be He!) sends to earth a form resembling a man, and bearing upon itself the divine seal.....It is this image which receives us first on our arrival into this world. It grows in us as we grow, and leaves us when we leave the world. This image is from above. When the souls are about to quit their heavenly abode each soul appears before the Holy One (blessed be He!) clothed with an exalted form on which are engraven the features which it will bear here below."

—Abelson, Jewish Mysticism, 165-166.

EDEN, THE GARDEN OF GOD: }
THE HOLY MOUNTAIN OF GOD: } these are symbols of the divinity with which the rulers of the dual kingdom were clothed:—the garden of Eden for the king of Babylon, and for the Assyrian the holy mountain of the north. Tiglath-pileser in his time, and now Nebuchadrezzar, "walked with the gods" in both Valhallas.

Politically it suggests that the king governed from the Persian Gulf to Ararat, or Demavend. Of no real king of Tyre could this have been said; Ezekiel is prophesying for Nebuchadrezzar the fate that the Babylonian was planning for his proud vassal.

EDEN AND THE MOUNTAIN OF THE NORTH: extreme limits of Semitic empire-building, and more specifically, of Assyrian conquest. Shalmaneser II had conquered Urartu; its name meant "sacred ground" (Sans. Aryavarta); its great peak, Mt. Ararat, was held to be a divine abode; Mt. Nizir, one of the "mountains of Ararat" commanding the Assyrian plain, was the reputed resting-place of the ark of the Chaldean Noah (Sayce, in Maspero, Passing of the Empires, vii); Tiglath-pileser III had penetrated to the heart of Media and his army had trodden the slopes of the sacred Demavend, the utmost boundary mark of the known world, and he had made the most of the exploit (Maspero, ibid. 142); he had also "taken the hand of Bel" at Babylon. Ezekiel uses the same expression for Nebuchadrezzar. The "Mountain of God" is the "mountain of dwelling", הר־סוער, which corresponds to the "tabernacle of dwelling" of the Hebrews, אהל סוער, the abode of יהוה. Ezek. XXVIII, 1 and 14 jointly are an echo of Isa. XIV, 13; which is an allusion to the boasting of Tiglath-pileser III over the exploit of his army that set foot upon Demavend.

"Eden and the Mountain", as a political expression, parallels "Sumer and Akkad" or "Kengi and Uri."

But this passage is symbolic also of the cosmos. The Mountain is the dwelling-place of the Most High, source and goal of all souls; Eden is the resting-place through which souls pass on their journey to, and from, the earth, and from which they are driven by the guardian Cherub upon their exchanging the garments of light for those of the flesh. This way the "King of Tyre" had come; but for him there was no return, for he had exalted his earthly throne "above the stars of God".

EVERY PRECIOUS STONE: a talismanic arrangement, similar to the high priest's breastplate, suggesting that divinity spoke through the breast of the king. The Hebrew text gives a nine-stone talisman; and notwithstanding the LXX gives the twelve-stone arrangement of Ex. XXVIII, 17-20 and the nine stones are rows 1, 4 and 2 of the breastplate, the nine-stone arrangement is probably correct for this passage. Nine-stone talismans appear in

the Babylonian inscriptions, and the Hindu *naoratna* was also of nine. But if the nine are correct for Babylon, we have an eight-stone talisman in an Assyrian inscription, and the Syriac at this verse gives eight stones. If Ezekiel wrote correctly, his translators may also be right within their lights,—the LXX for Jerusalem, and the Syriac, through some local tradition, for Nineveh.

CHERUB: cf. the ark-cover with the cherubim, Ex. XXV, 17-18, and the "chariot" of the cherubim, 1 Chron. XXIX, 18.

HAILSTONES: the versions follow MT. "stones of fire", a condensed expression clearly parallel to Ps. XVIII, 13 or Isa. XXX, 30, "hailstones and coals of fire"; (אבן) ברד ונחלי־אש shortened to אבני־אש.

The line being short, it has been completed from Ps. above.

STONES OF FIRE: perhaps a suggestion of the lightning, as a manifestation of divine power, and conceived as encircling the divine abode. Cf. the Cherubim with their flaming swords, stationed at the garden of Eden to shut out the man and the woman who, said the Lord God, are "become as one of us, to know good and evil." (Gen. III, 22-24). The Cherub remains in this lamentation, but he is placed, not at the garden, but at the holy mountain, and casts out Nebuchadrezzar like another Adam. (So Cheminant, following Loisy). Cf. also, the hailstones and coals of fire surrounding the Lord in Psalm XVIII, 13; the brightness and coals of fire of 2 Sam. XXII, 13; and the thunders and lightnings of Ex. XIX, 16-18, XX, 18, XXIV, 18. Later, in Enoch LXXI, 5, the abode of the Lord is surrounded with tongues of fire. "Stones of fire" suggest also meteorites, as another heavenly manifestation.

SANCTUARY: Vulg. following LXX, has *sanctificationem*; but the reference is rather to the divine abode in which the king had been placed and from which the Cherub had driven him forth. But the plural is not required.

WILL I RAISE: AV, RV, JR, have these in the past tense, but the future of the Vulg. is needed to complete the prophecy.

SHALT BE NO MORE: so the prophecy runs its course. In Ezek. XXVI the doom of the real city Tyre was foretold; in XXVII that of the Tyre that carried the traffic of Babylon, and in minute detail brought from their sources all the materials of the Jewish sanctuary and ritual, palace and power, which Babylon had so recently stolen, and nothing beside; in XXVIII that of the

monarch whom vassal Tyre had enriched, who was about to crush his vassal, and whose kingdom ran throughout the valleys of Euphrates and Tigris from mouth to source, from the garden of Eden to Ararat or Demavend. Of Nebuchadrezzar and no other was this doom foretold.

SUBSTITUTION OF NAME: That such cryptic utterances were not unusual, and especially assumed of Ezekiel's writings, is shown in two passages from the Talmud:

> Whosoever prieth into the four things in the matter of the chariot in Ezekiel's vision—what is above, what is beneath, what is before, or what is behind—it were better for him if he had never been born. (Chaggigah, 11, 2).
>
> When Nero came to the Holy Land, he tried his fortune by belemnomancy thus:—He shot an arrow eastward, and it fell upon Jerusalem; he discharged his shafts towards the four points of the compass, and every time they fell upon Jerusalem. After this he met a Jewish boy, and said unto him, "Repeat to me the text thou hast learned today." The boy repeated, "I will lay my vengeance upon Edom (*i.e.*, Rome) by the hand of my people Israel." (Ezek. XXV, 14). Then said Nero, "The Holy One—blessed be He!—has determined to destroy His Temple and then avenge Himself on the agent by whom its ruin is wrought." Thereupon Nero fled and became a Jewish proselyte and Rabbi Meir is of his race. (Gittin, 56, 1).

DOUBLE MEANINGS: Cf. Koran, IV, 48: "There are those of the Jews who twist words from their meaning, and say, We have heard and have resisted; but hear thou without understanding."

PRIESTLY LISTS: The compilation and interpretation of lists of stones, plants and, presumably, other substances, was a special function of the Semitic priesthood. To Dr. H. F. Lutz, of the University of Pennsylvania, I am indebted for the following translation, from an Assyrian tablet reproduced in Ebeling, Keilschrift Texte Religiösen Inhalts aus Assur, No. 44: "The Essentials of the series of the Incantation Priesthood, which are laid down for learning and inspection:—the total of their names." Amongst the enumeration of "their names" is "the preparing of stones: the preparing of plants; to compose and ...... lists of stones [and] lists of plants." This tablet is thought to refer to the priests' school at the Esagila temple in Babylon.

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VIII

Babylon was taken in 538 B.C. by Cyrus king of Persia, who promptly released the Israelites from captivity. He ordered that they be assisted in rebuilding the temple, and he returned the sacred vessels taken by Nebuchadrezzar: five thousand four hundred vessels of gold and silver in all.[1] A decree of Cyrus quoted by Ezra directed the building to be on strong foundations, three rows of great stones and a row of new timber, and that the builders be given what they needed for the daily offerings; bullocks, rams, lambs, wheat, salt, wine, and oil. The temple was finished in the reign of Darius. At its dedication were offered a hundred bullocks, two hundred rams, four hundred lambs; and for a sin-offering twelve he-goats, one for each tribe.[2]

For the maintenance of the temple service taxes were levied by ordinance; the third of a shekel for the showbread, meal-offering and burnt-offering, the sabbaths, new moons, appointed seasons, and holy things, and for the sin-offerings to make atonement. To the priests were ordered the firstfruits of the land and the trees, of the sons and the cattle, the herds and the flocks, the wine and the oil. To the Levites, the tithes.

[1] Ezra I, 1-11 [2] Ezra VI, 1-18

For the children of Israel and the children of Levi shall bring the heave-offering of the corn, of the wine, and of the oil, unto the chambers, where are the vessels of the sanctuary, and the priests that minister, and the porters, and the singers; and we will not forsake the house of our God.[3]

At the dedication of the wall of Jerusalem there were thanksgivings, with singing, with cymbals, psalteries, and with harps, and "with the musical instruments of David the man of God." And "the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off."[4]

Thus far the accounts of Ezra and Nehemiah. For the second temple no specifications of building or equipment, and no details of service, except that it was as [5] "appointed by the law," or "written in the book of Moses." The single measurement of ninety cubits length in the decree of Cyrus differs from the hundred cubits of Ezekiel's specifications.[6] But for the first temple and the tabernacle minute details remain. It is, perhaps, not unreasonable to assume that when the "heads of fathers' houses were written in the book of the chronicles," [7]some portions of this priestly tradition were included also.[8]

[3] Neh. X, 33-40 [4] Neh. XII, 27-43 [5] Neh. XII, 44; Ezra VI, 18
[6] Ezra VI, 3; Ezek. XLI, 13-15 [7] Neh. XII, 23

[8] According to another account, the second temple was more magnificent than the first: (Hag II, 9) "The glory of this latter house shall be greater than that of the former." The Talmud, however, notes five things which were in the first temple which were not in the second: the ark and its cover, with the cherubim; the fire; the Shechinah or visible presence; the Holy Spirit of prophecy; and the Urim and Thummim; and a commentator suggests that they were absent because they tended to usurp the place of the spiritual, of which they were but the assurance and symbol. (Yoma, 21,2)

IX

Ezekiel greatly developed the apocalyptic element in the priestly tradition. As the tribulations of the Israelites continued and the prophecies of their re-establishment, prosperity and world leadership were postponed from century to century and seemed ever less likely of accomplishment, there grew up a large following that would translate these promises into another world.[1]

In the Apocalypse of John, the method of Ezekiel is closely followed.[2] The very words are echoes or quotations from Ezekiel, Isaiah and Jeremiah. The material substances mentioned are those already quoted from Exodus, Numbers, Judges, Chronicles and Ezekiel, yet so employed as to present the same vivid sketch of the activities of a new, rich and ruthless world power—Imperial Rome. We have sufficient ground for dating the Apocalypse[3] about 93 A.D. from its mention not only of the persecutions under the emperor Domitian, but of two of his decrees affecting agriculture and viticulture. This was but a few years subsequent to the campaign of Titus against Jerusalem, 70 A.D.,

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[1] Cf. Charles, Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament: also, Religious Development between the Old and New Testaments (Home University Library).

[2] Rev. XVII, 3-5, 18.

[3] S. Reinach, Cultes, Mythes et Religions, II, 356-380, from Rev. VI, 6; but the author was familiar with the temple at Jerusalem before Titus destroyed it: (XI, 1-2).



A People carried away with their Household Goods and Cattle. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh.* (See pp. 40, 44)

Reproduced from Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires.* D. Appleton & Co., publishers



Sennacherib receiving the Submission of the Jews in his Camp before Lachish. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*. (See pp. 40, 44)

Reproduced from Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*. D. Appleton & Co., publishers

which ended with the capture and destruction of the city and the dispersion of its survivors. The Israelites at that time were smarting at the hand of Rome, just as in Ezekiel's time they were at the hand of Babylon. The prophecies of destruction, although made by the author of the Apocalypse in the name of Babylon, which had been dead for so many centuries that its very site was almost forgotten, referred surely to the immediate oppressor, who was conceived as gathering within herself all the sins and crimes of which all the earlier oppressors of Israel had been accused.[4]

The curses of the centuries are gathered together, concentrated and focused upon the immediate object of the writer's wrath—the city of Imperial Rome. We are introduced to her as a "woman sitting upon a scarlet beast, arrayed in purple and scarlet, decked with precious stones and pearls, having in her hand a golden cup full of abominations." That her real name is not the one written we are advised in the statement, "upon her forehead the name written, Mystery, Babylon The Great." The writer further explains, "the woman which thou sawest is the great city which reigneth over the kings of the earth."[5]

In this description there are echoes not only

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[4] It is evident that the priestly tradition is followed: the Exodus passages are from the P document: Ezekiel himself a Zadokite and priest: and the writer of the Apocalypse had both at his fingertips.

[5] Rev. XVII, 3-5, 18

of the faithless foundling[6] and the wanton sisters of Ezekiel,[7] but of the daughters of Israel weeping over Saul,[8] who clothed them with scarlet and other delights, and put ornaments of gold upon their apparel. The items singled out for descriptions of the adornment are merely the high lights of the adornment of the tabernacle, the golden vessels of which had been dishonored. This description of Rome at the height of her prosperity is wonderfully vivid. We seem even to smell the smoke of the great fire of Rome in the time of Nero.[9]

MYSTERY OF THE GREAT CITY "BABYLON"

After these things I saw another angel coming down out of heaven, having great authority; and the earth was lightened with his glory.

And he cried with a mighty voice, saying, Fallen, fallen is Babylon the great, and is become a habitation of devils, and a hold of every unclean spirit, and a hold of every unclean and hateful bird.

And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come forth, my people, out of her, that ye have no fellowship with her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues:

For her sins have reached even unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities.

And the kings of the earth......shall weep and wail over her, when they look upon the smoke of her burning......

And the merchants of the earth weep and mourn over her, for no man buyeth their merchandise any more;

Merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stone, and pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet; and all thyine wood, and every vessel of ivory, and every vessel made of most precious wood, and of brass and iron, and marble:

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[6] Ezek. XVI, 10-19
[7] Ezek. XXIII, 5-24
[8] II Sam. I, 24
[9] Rev. XVIII, 1-2, 4-5, 9, 11-12, 13, 15-21

And cinnamon, and spice, and incense, and ointment, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and cattle, and sheep; and merchandise of horses and chariots and slaves; and souls of men.

The merchants of these things, who were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and mourning;

Saying, Woe, woe, the great city, she that was arrayed in fine linen and purple and scarlet, and decked with gold and precious stone and pearl!

For in one hour so great riches is made desolate. And every shipmaster, and every one that saileth any whither, and mariners, and as many as gain their living by sea, stood afar off,

And cried out as they looked upon the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto the great city?

And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and mourning, saying, Woe, woe, the great city, wherein were made rich all that had their ships in the sea by reason of her costliness! for in one hour is she made desolate.

Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye saints, and ye apostles, and ye prophets; for God hath judged your judgment on her.

And a strong angel took up a stone as it were a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, Thus with a mighty fall shall Babylon, the great city, be cast down, and shall be found no more at all.

This list of articles of trade might stand for a sketch of the commerce of Rome, but when examined in detail it is evidently no more than a selection from the tabernacle and temple specifications,[10] with a few changes, due to the rabbinical interpretations of Ezekiel. There are the familiar gold and silver, linen, and silk (or, more correctly, covering of goats' hair), purple and scarlet of the tabernacle, and the precious stones of the breastplate. Pearls appear in place of

[10] Ex. XXV-XXX: 1 Chron. XXIX.

Ezekiel's "costly substance" rendered as coral, which replaced the "precious substance" rendered as bdellium, which accompanied the onyx of the priests' shoulder buckles.[11]

"All thyine wood" harks back to the coniferous timbers of the temple. Thyine wood, *Thuya*, is the arbor vitae, a variety of cypress, which was one of the timbers commanded by both David and Solomon for the temple construction, and for musical instruments. In the Vulgate the doubtful *algum* of Chronicles is rendered as thyine.[12]

Ivory recalls the palace; for Solomon's throne was a "great throne of ivory, overlaid with finest gold."[13]

"Precious wood" may include many things, the sacred acacia wood[14] of the tabernacle, the olive of the temple interior,[15] the ebony of Ezekiel,[16] or the foreign woods brought back from Solomon's voyages.[17]

The brass and iron were military equipment,

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[11] Benjamin of Tudela has the pearls yielded by the bdellium (ed. Adler, p. 63), in which he follows Saadia Gaon in his Arabic translation of the Bible. Jewish authorities are divided as to whether *bdolakh* was a jewel or a gum. To this may be due the confusion in the legend, as between bdellium, coral and pearl (including nacre or mother-of-pearl). Gen. II, 11-12: Ex. XXVIII, 6-12: Ezek. XXVII, 16: Rev. XVIII, 12.

[12] 1 Kings X, 11: 2 Chron. IX, 10-11

[13] 1 Kings X, 18-20: 2 Chron. IX, 17-19

[14] Ex. XXV, 10

[15] 1 Kings VI, 31-35

[16] Ezek. XXVII, 15

[17] 1 Kings X, 11

whereof, after purification, the priests had their lawful share.[18]

Marble was the stone quarried for Solomon's temple.[19] Cinnamon, spices, incense, ointment, and frankincense[20] are an echo of the incense and anointing oil for the tabernacle. Wine, cattle, and sheep were specified for the various tabernacle offerings;[21] and they were among the items subject to tithe; the cattle and sheep tithe might be converted into wine at the convenience of the owner.[22]

In the "oil and fine flour" we have an echo of the lamp of the tabernacle, and of the meal offering.[23] The "wheat" refers to the shewbread.[24] It was also a crop subject to tithe.

Horses and chariots are an echo of the splendors of the army of king Solomon, considered so remarkable that the annalist in Kings gives us the price at which they were purchased.[25]

Slaves were an item of the spoil of victory, whereof the priests and Levites had their lawful share.[26]

"Souls of men" is the single contribution of the author of the Apocalypse to these traditional lists. In a sense this distinction between a man's body and his soul may reflect the progress of

[18] Num. XXXI, 21-23
[19] 1 Chron. XXIX, 2
[20] Ex. XXX, 23-25
[21] Ex. XXIX
[22] Deut. XIV, 22-29
[23] Ex. XXVII, 20: XXIX, 40-41
[24] Ex. XXV, 30
[25] 1 Kings X, 26-29
[26] Num. XXXI, 25-30

human thought and belief between the periods of the Law and of the New Testament. On the other hand, this passage affords an interesting instance of the change in the meaning of the word *psyche*, which, in the LXX, both in the instruction for division of the spoil between people and priests, Numbers 31,[27] and Ezekiel's list,[28] means the "persons of men". The author of the Apocalypse makes a distinction, and writes for slave the word *soma* meaning "body," while he reserves his *psyche* for the soul.[29] In this we may have a reflection of the worship of the emperor imposed upon her subjects

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[27] Num. XXXI, 35 *ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπων*: ונפש אדם

[28] Ezek. XXVII, 13 *ψυχαῖς ἀνθρώπων*: בנפש אדם

[29] Rev. XVIII, 13 *σωμάτων καὶ ψυχὰς ἀνθρώπων*
Cf. Burton, Spirit, Soul, and Flesh: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1918
Cf. Zohar, II, 142: The soul is a trinity of three elements, נשמה Neshamah, the highest phase of existence; רוח Ruah, the moral element, the seat of good and evil; נפש Nephesh, the gross side of spirit, the vital element which is *en rapport* with the body. "In these three we find an exact image of what is above in the celestial world. For all three form only one soul....The Nephesh does not in itself possess any light... Above the Nephesh is the Ruah, which dominates the Nephesh, imposes laws upon it, and enlightens it as much as its nature requires. And then high above the Ruah is the Neshamah, which in turn rules the Ruah and sheds upon it the light of life. The Ruah is lit up by this light, and depends entirely upon it. After death, the Ruah has no rest. The gates of Paradise (Eden) are not opened to it until the time when the Neshamah has reascended to its source, to the Ancient of the ancients, in order to become filled with Him throughout eternity. For the Neshamah is always climbing back again towards its source."

—Abelson, Jewish Mysticism, 160-161.

by Imperial Rome, wherein the city is conceived as being the mistress not only of the bodies, but of the souls of her subjects.

The "casting of the great millstone into the sea by a strong angel" to picture the fall of Babylon is an echo of the doom prophecy of Jeremiah, which was to have been sent to Babylon and publicly read, wrapped about a stone and cast into the Euphrates to justify the prophecy.[30]

Such are the articles included in this list of the commerce of Rome. We cannot assume them to have been intended as a matter-of-fact list of the commerce of the Roman Empire, then the greatest power in the world with wealth greater, and communications more distant and varied than any of the world's empires before her. These substances are merely a condensed selection from the items that figure in the Hebrew annals in connection with tabernacle, temple, palace, or priestly spoil. Whoever desires an actual list of the commerce of Rome need only consult such works as the Periplus, or the Natural History of Pliny, to see the contrast.

[30] Jer. LI, 63-64

X

There remains in this excursion into the symbolism of commerce only to consider the description of the New Jerusalem which, in the same way, is based upon material from Exodus and Ezekiel.

We may first recall the significance of the color blue, whether in stone or in fabric, as standing for something more than the ordinary, more even than the earthly. In the passage in Exodus which describes the ascent of Moses and the elders[1] of Israel on Mt. Sinai, and their vision of the God of Israel, it is said,

> There was under his feet the like of a paved work of *sappir* stones, and the like of the very heaven for clearness...... and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like devouring fire.

So in Ezekiel's first vision which called him to his duty of prophecy,[2]

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[1] Ex. XXIV, 10

[2] Ezek. 1, 26-27

Hashmal חשמל in this passage, AV amber, JR electrum, is an instance of the cryptic method of Ezekiel. While it seems to mean "shining", it is explained as a condensed form of *Hayot esh me-mal-le-loth,* "the living creatures of fire, speaking"; and a modern commentator, Malbim, explains the *Hayot* as "the living creatures which are the camp of the Shechinah (the Divine Presence) where there is the 'still small voice.' It is they who receive the Divine effluence from above and disseminate it to the *Hayot* who are the movers of the 'wheels' of Ezekiel's Chariot." The Chariot was a sort of 'mystic way' leading up to the final goal of the soul; and the rider of the Chariot, or Merkabah, was he who aimed, while still in the flesh, to mount up to the spiritual world.

—Abelson, Jewish Mysticism, 34-38

was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a *sap-pir* stone......and the color of *hashmal* as the appearance of fire round about enclosing it.

The tables of the law brought down by Moses, according to legend,[3] were engraved upon the finest blue stone then known—lapis-lazuli.[4] The writer of the Apocalypse gives a wider range of color, for he describes a [5]throne in heaven,

and one sitting on a throne; and he that sat was to look upon like a *iaspis* stone and a *sardios;*......a rainbow round about the throne like *smaragdos* to look upon.[5]

The description of the Holy City is a development of the brief prophecy in II Isaiah:[6]

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[3] Epiphanius De XII Gemmis 5

[4] This may, of course, be a variant of the engraving of the law on the altar of unhewn stone (Josh. VIII, 32)

[5] Rev. IV, 3. The tradition is an ancient one; Cf. Inscription of Ramses III, in the Medinet Habu Temple, (Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, 7.)

"He made it as (his) monument for his father, Amon-Re, making for him "The-House-of-Usermare-Meriamon-Possessed-of-Eternity-in-the-House-of-Amon," like unto the great palace of the horizon; of fine sandstone. The "Great Seat" is of gold, its pavement of silver, its doors of gold and black granite; the broad-hall of stone of Ayan, the doors thereof of copper in beaten work, the inlay-figures of electrum and every splendid costly stone. When the sun rises, he shines into its midst, his splendor envelops its house, the favorite seat of (his) father, Amon. When he sets, he touches its beauty, silver, electrum, and every costly stone...."

[6] Is. LIV, 11-12

> O thou afflicted, tossed with tempest
> And not comforted,
> Behold, I will set thy stones in fair colours,
> And lay thy foundations with *sappir.*
> And I will make thy pinnacles of *chodecod,*
> And thy gates of *eqedakh,*[7]
> And all thy border of precious stones.

which in turn is an echo of Solomon's temple: "and he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty."[8]

In the Holy City the names of the twelve tribes that were engraved on the stones of the

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[7] EQEDAKH, אקדח from *qadakh* to kindle; rendered, carbuncles. The LXX has *sappheiros, iaspis* and *krystallos.*

[8] 2 Chron. III, 6: but the Vulgate has "pretiosissimo marmore", suggesting the possibility that the original stones of the temple, were merely the costly marble brought down with infinite labor from Lebanon or Anti-Libanus, translated by later fancy into "precious marble" and finally into the otherwise rather impracticable "precious stones" of the foundations of the Holy City. The Talmud, however, offers assurance of the literal truth of the precious stone foundations: Rabbi Yochanan, in expounding Isa. LIV, 12, said: "The Holy One—blessed be He!—will bring precious stones and pearls, each measuring thirty cubits by thirty, and polishing them down to twenty cubits by ten, will place them in the gates of Jerusalem." A certain disciple contemptuously observed: "No one has ever yet seen a precious stone as large as a small bird's egg, and is it likely that such immense ones as these have any existence?" He happened one day after this to go forth on a voyage, and there in the sea he saw the angels quarrying precious stones and pearls like those his Rabbi had told him of, and upon inquiry he learned that they were intended for the gates of Jerusalem. On his return he went straight to Rabbi Yochanan and told him what he had seen and heard. "Raca!" said the latter. "Hadst thou not seen them thou wouldst have kept on deriding the words of the wise!" Then fixing his gaze intently on him, he with the glance of his eye reduced to a heap of bones the carcass of his body. (Bava Bathra, 75, 1)

breastplate are transferred to the twelve gates of the city,[9] while the foundations of the city, carrying out Isaiah's vision, were of twelve precious stones engraved with the names of the twelve apostles.[10]

THE HOLY CITY

And he carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy city Jerusalem, coming down out of heaven from God,

Having the glory of God: and her light was like unto a stone most precious, as it were a *iaspis* stone, clear as crystal;

Having a wall great and high; having twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels; and names written thereon, which are the names of the twelve tribes of the children of Israel:

On the east three gates; and on the north three gates; and on the south three gates; and on the west three gates.

And the wall of the city had twelve foundations, and on them twelve names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb.

And he that spake with me had for a measure a golden reed to measure the city, and the gates thereof, and the wall thereof.

And the city lieth foursquare, and the length thereof is as great as the breadth: and he measured the city with the reed, twelve thousand furlongs: the length and the breadth and the height thereof are equal.

And he measured the wall thereof, a hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of an angel.

And the building of the wall thereof was *iaspis* and the city was pure gold, like unto pure glass.

The foundations of the wall of the city were adorned with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was *iaspis;* the second, *sappheiros;* the third, *karchedonios;* the fourth, *smaragdos.*

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[9] Rev. XXI, 11

[10] and following the arrangement of Ezekiel in his ideal temple (XLVIII, 30-35)

The fifth, *sardonyx;* the sixth, *sardios;* the seventh, *chrysolithos;* the eighth, *beryllos;* the ninth, *topazion;* the tenth, *chrysoprasos;* the eleventh, *hyakinthos;* the twelfth, *amethystos.*

And the twelve gates were twelve pearls; each one of the several gates was of one pearl: and the street of the city was pure gold, as it were transparent glass.[11]

The stones are obviously the same as the list for the breastplate. After due correction, allowing for change in the meaning of words, and with some re-arrangement in order, they admit of the same color arrangement.

Curious indeed is the similarity of this vision to one of a far-distant religion.[12] Kusavati, the Celestial City of the Hindus, is thus described:—

"Seven ramparts surrounded Kusavati, the materials being respectively gold, silver, beryl, crystal, agate, coral and all kinds of gems. In these ramparts were four gates—one of gold, one of silver, one of crystal and one of jade—and at each gate seven pillars were fixed, each three or four times the height of a man and composed of the seven precious substances that constituted the ramparts. Beyond the ramparts were seven rows of palm trees, the fourth row having trunks of silver and leaves of gold; then followed palms of beryl, with leaves and fruit of beryl; agate palms, whose fruit and leaves were of coral, and coral palms, with leaves and fruit of agate; lastly, the palms whose trunks were composed of "all kinds of gems" had leaves and fruit of the same description, "and when these rows of palm trees were shaken by the wind, arose a sound sweet and pleasant, and charming and intoxicating."

And as early as the Gilgamesh Epic we have a description of the "mystic cedar tree", which grew in the Elamite sanctuary of Irnina under

[11] Rev. XXI, 10-21

[12] Maha Sudassana Suttanta; Buddhist Suttas, tr. Rhys Davids, S.B.E. XI

the guardianship of King Humbaba, and which, like the oak Ygdrasil of the Saxons, joined heaven and earth:[13]

> It produces samtu-stones as fruit;
> Its boughs hang with them, glorious to behold;
> The crown of it produces lapis-lazuli;
> Its fruit is costly to gaze upon.

and another tree viewed by Gilgamesh:

> It bore precious stones for fruits;
> Its branches were glorious to the sight;
> The twigs were crystals;
> It bore fruit costly to the sight.

Also another tree of Hindu religion:[14]

> The Kalpa tree of Hindu religion, a symbolical offering to the gods, was a glowing mass of precious stones. Pearls hung from its boughs and beautiful emeralds from its shoots; the tender young leaves were corals, and the ripe fruit, rubies. The roots were sapphire; the base of the trunk, diamond; the upper trunk, cat's eye, the middle trunk, topaz. The foliage (except the young leaves) zircons.

The legend was not unknown to the Greeks. Lucian describes a "gem city":[15]

> The city of the Islands of the Blessed. The walls of this city were of emerald, the temples of the gods were formed of beryl, and the altars therein of single amethysts of enormous size. The city itself was all of gold as a fit setting for these marvelous gems.

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[13] Ward, Seal Cylinders of Western Asia, Washington 1910, pp. 232-4

[14] Surindro Mohun Tagore, Mani Mala, Calcutta 1881, II, 645-7

[15] Vera Historia 2, 11: these are quoted from Kunz. The Curious Lore of Precious Stones.

XI

The goal of our journey might seem too simple to justify the length of the road, were it not also fundamental. These enrichments of worship, as Ezekiel put it, were as ornaments to the foundling that she might be made fair as a bride for the Master. When taken for the adornment of worldly pride, they not only lost their virtue, but brought ruin and degradation. Military power and victory over the enemy were likewise as gifts for the uplifting of the victor. When applied to selfish ends they brought swift doom. The imagery is clear where in Ezekiel these riches, taken by Babylon for her own pride and pleasure and for the conquest and oppression of mankind, were to cause the downfall of Babylon. Where, in the Apocalypse, the downfall of another Babylon is described, the substances are translated to heaven to become a part of the glory of the Lord.

Sennacherib profaned and pillaged the temple and Nineveh fell; Nebuchadrezzar profaned and pillaged the temple and Babylon fell; Titus profaned and pillaged the temple, and the writer of the Apocalypse predicted that Rome likewise should fall. The prophecy was fulfilled, but not as the writer intended, for the interest of the Christians in Jerusalem was transferred from Zion to Calvary, and the Rome that fell was a Christian Rome.

So far as we may point to a moral in all these symbolic pictures of commerce, it is that the purpose of man lies not in the pomp and the trappings of priesthood and princedom.

XII

When the Israelites were leaving Egypt they were advised to despoil the Egyptians by carrying away jewels of silver and jewels of gold.[1] If the jewels were set with stones they were probably supposed to have talismanic virtue, based upon the symbolism of color. In the Book of the Dead, there are numerous texts to be engraved on stones and buried with the dead. The Buckle of Carnelian,[2] to be placed on the neck, and which might also consist of red jasper, red porphyry, red glass, or red sycomore wood, represented the heart or the life-blood, and was supposed to bring the protection of Isis. The Papyrus Scepter,[3] to be engraved on emerald matrix, green feldspar or serpentine, signified the renewal of youth or continuance of life, like the evergreen cedar among the trees of the forest, or the evergreen mistletoe on the bare branches of the oak in winter. The Pillow[4] was an amulet to be made of hematite, and the Eye[5] was to be of lapis lazuli ornamented with gold. A blue stone recalled the blue vault of heaven,

[1] Ex. XII, 35-36. But the Hebrew is less specific: "things made of silver and things made of gold"; and the same word is used elsewhere for the vessels of the temple (כלי, Ezra I, 7); DV has "vessels" in the Exodus passage. [2] Book of the Dead, 156 [3] ibid. 159 [4] ibid. 166 [5] ibid. 140

and signified divinity or immortality.[6] Egyptian priests frequently wore breastplates of gold or electrum, bearing the names or symbols of their respective divinities.[7]

The tabernacle in the desert was designed under the immediate influence of Egypt; the temple of Solomon, under that of Phoenicia; the second temple, under that of Chaldea. The first was for nomads; the second for tillers of the soil; the third for city dwellers. It would be no more than natural if these influences were reflected in differing details of equipment or service.

In Egyptian amulets and breastplates, until quite late, the colors were relatively few. The breastplate identified the deity, and was worn when the priest sat in court for judgment.

If breastplates were worn by the Israelite priests, we may suppose them to have been of burnished brass or gold, and to have borne the name or symbol of Jahveh.

In the temple, and especially after the suppression of the local sanctuaries, the standing and influence of the priesthood was greatly increased, and their dress, no doubt, elaborated and enriched. In the earlier days the priesthood was in a more uncertain position; Micah's

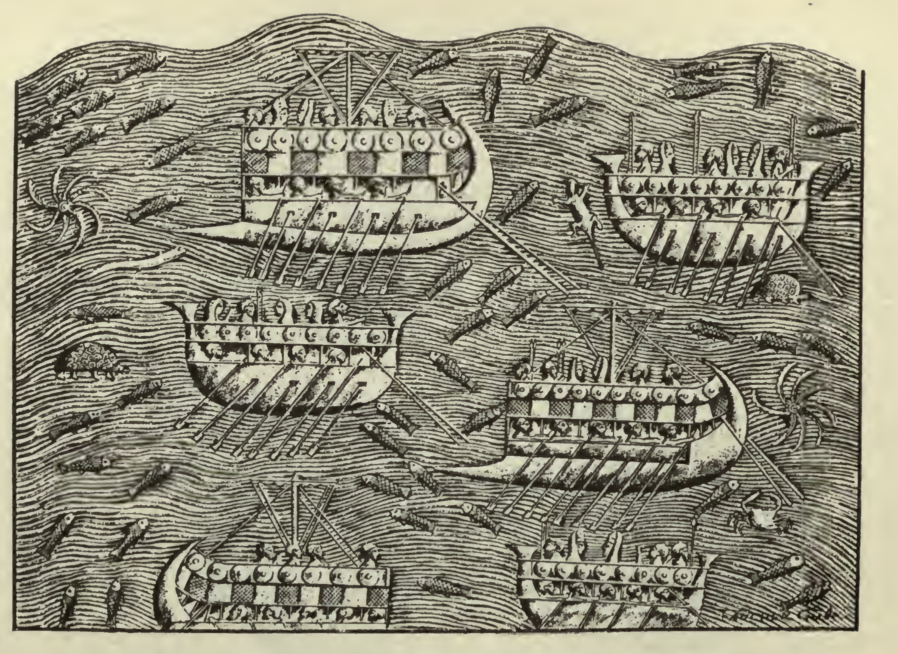
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[6] Cf. amulets presented by Ramses III to Amon-Re (Breasted, Ancient Records, IV, 319) "I made for thee august amulets for thy body, of fine Ketem-gold and of silver, in beaten work, in (raised work) with inlay of real lapis lazuli, in order to put them upon thy limbs in thy 'Great Seat', and all the gods of the house of Ptah were contented therewith." [7] Cf. Breasted, Ancient Records, II, 376, 544, 654; IV, 201, 231, 285, 319, etc.



GREEK COINS OF PHOENICIA

The first three, of Sidon and Tyre, from Gardner's British Museum Catalogue; the fourth, of Byblos, in the Cabinet des Médailles, from Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*. D. Appleton & Co., publishers



THE FLEET OF SENNACHERIB NAVIGATING THE NAR-MARRATUM

From a relief excavated upon the site of Nineveh. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh.* Reproduced from Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires.* D. Appleton & Co., publishers

mother, for example, took silver to the founder and had a graven and a molten image made for his house, and that seemed sufficient until a Levite of the family of Judah happened along and they engaged him for ten shekels annually.[8] Hosea indicates as the essentials the sacrifice, the image, the ephod, and the teraphim.[9] Elsewhere the ephod and the ark are named.[10] The ephod was connected with the judgment by lot, and the high priest had no monopoly of it, for it was worn by Levites, priests and prophets,[11] and Doeg the Edomite on a single day slew four-score and five of them.[12] David scandalized his wife Michal, daughter of Saul, by dancing naked, girded only with a linen ephod, on that happy day when he brought the ark from the house of Obed-edom the Hittite to the tent that he had pitched for it in Jerusalem, just captured from the Jebusites.[13] Both ark and ephod were connected with the judgment by Urim and Thummim, whereby the Lord was consulted as to everything of importance.[14] In later days there was much uncertainty because there stood up no "priest with Urim and Thummim."[15] When Solomon had finished building the temple, he made a procession to bring to its "most holy place" from David's tent, the ark with its two tables of stone.[16] There it was installed with all magnificence; but if we search for a description of the dress and adornment of the priests who

[8] Judg. XVII, 4-13
[9] Hos. III, 4-5
[10] 1 Sam. XXX, 7; XIV, 18
[11] 1 Sam. XIV, 3
[12] 1 Sam. XXII, 18
[13] 2 Sam. VI
[14] Num. XXVII, 21
[15] Neh. VII, 65
[16] 1 Kings VIII, 1-11

served it, we find nothing in the historical books, and must refer to the account of the tabernacle in Exodus. Of their appearance after Josiah had centralized the worship of the whole nation in their care, we have not a word.

Ephod means "girdle" and it was of linen and worn on the person; but there were ephods of metal[17] that could stand on the altar,[18] and both could contain the Urim and Thummim. The word translated as ark means no more than "receptacle", whether urn, chest or boat. Some commentators have suggested that the ark was the receptacle for the altar and the ephod that for the person; that the ark held, when not in use, both the Urim and Thummim and the two tables of the Law; that it was first called the ark of Jahveh and subsequently the ark of the covenant; and that the shining plate of Jahveh was that which appears as the mitre-plate, while the twelve-stone breastplate was a post-exilic development. Certain it is, that the historical books contain no reference to what has since become the most distinctive mark of the Jewish priesthood. Yet the tradition is positive for a breastplate in the first temple, and there is no proof of its absence, whatever its design.

The second temple lacked the ark, which had been destroyed, and the Urim and Thummim, which had been forgotten. In its adornment and equipment it was more magnificent than the first. For it there is no reason to reject any detail of the glories described in Exodus, and much reason to think them compact of both

[17] Judg. VIII, 24-27 [18] 1 Sam. XXI, 9

temples together. However that may be, the breastplate and shoulder-buckles of the high priest had become prominent features of its equipment, and it is to the precious stones with which they were set, that our attention must now be directed.

Babylonian astrologers conceived of a path of the sun through the year, divided among twelve constellations, which came to be known as the zodiac; and by observing the positions of sun, moon, planets and constellations at the date of birth, believed that they could forecast the lives of individuals, and through them the fate of nations. While there are traces of this art at very early dates, scholars are agreed that it was not brought into anything like order until the late Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, and not perfected until the Greeks came to live in the Euphrates valley, in the Seleucid period.[19] When perfected, each constellation had its zodiacal sign, and its color, stone, plant and animal. The wearing of a stone engraved with one's zodiacal birth-sign was supposed to insure the favorable influence of the stars, and survives to this day in the lore of "natal stones."

But it would be quite unsafe to date all astrological talismans after the fall of Babylon, for there are numerous Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian references to talismans of stones in varying number; eight, nine and twelve all appearing. A twelve-stone zodiacal breastplate, with stones engraved with the initial letters of the zodiacal signs, required only a priestly

[19] Cf. Jastrow, Encycl. Brit., art. Astrology.

adaptation to become the breastplate of the second temple, with the stones engraved with the names of the twelve tribes.

The following Assyrian incantation-text gives us an eight-stone breastplate:[20]

> The splendid stones! The splendid stones! The stones of abundance and joy! Made resplendent for the flesh of the gods. The hulalini stone, the sirgarru stone, the hulalu stone, the sandu stone, the uknu stone. The dushu stone, the precious stone elmeshu, perfect in celestial beauty. The stone of which the pingu is set in gold. Placed upon the shining breast of the king as an ornament. Azagsud, high priest of Bel, make them shine, make them sparkle! Let the evil one keep aloof from the dwelling!

There was commerce by sea between India and Neo-Babylonia, from which India received enduring impressions. It is significant that the ancient Hindu *naoratna* or sacred talisman was a zodiacal arrangement of nine stones:[21]

Center	Sun	Ruby
East	Venus	Diamond
Southeast	Moon	Pearl
South	Mars	Coral
Southwest	Rahu	Jacinth
West	Saturn	Sapphire
Northeast	Jupiter	Topaz
North	Descending node	Cat's eye
Northwest	Mercury	Emerald

[20] Fossey, La Magie Assyrienne, Paris 1902, p. 301. Dr. Kunz connects *hulalu* and *hulalini* with a root meaning "to perforate", and suggests pearls. The same meaning is possible for the *chodecod* or *chorchor* of Ezekiel, as if from *kur* to pierce. With tradition asserting redness, this may have been coral.

[21] Finot, Les Lapidaires Indiens, Paris 1896, p. 175; quoting the Nararatnapariksha.

This gave a stone for the earth, with one each for the four cardinal directions, halved. The same arrangement is found on the Calendar Stone of the Aztecs. Modified, it becomes the Christian symbol of the four ways of the cross, the four rays emerging therefrom, and the circle representing Him who hung thereon.

The breastplate or "covering" of Ezekiel's "King of Tyre," who was Nebuchadrezzar, was also a nine-stone talisman. It existed in Babylonia, probably, before the Hebrew breastplate was perfected, and may therefore be accepted as it stands, notwithstanding the LXX has the list identical with that in Exodus. It may refer to an actual talisman of the Babylonian kings.

Identification of the stones of the breastplate has afforded interest to many scholars, and it may almost be said that no two have agreed upon the same arrangement, nor can such agreement be hoped for until the end of time. For if we follow the rabbinical interpretations, we are misled by late conjecture, covering so long a period that the same name would be differently applied to two or more stones; whereas if we translate literally, we have no evidence at all. Of the entire list one name only is of a definite color; the rest are vague, or their etymology unknown. With the color of blood, then, we begin; and proceed to pale, flashing, sparkling, beater, dream-bringer, Tarshish stone (or, broken stone), nail, and shining. Three

more in the breastplate we must leave unguessed. For stones that might apply to the shoulder-buckles, we have once more the nail, one pierced, one costly and one precious. Upon such evidence it were idle to dogmatize.

If we look to the results of archaeology, as shown in museum collections, we find nothing to support the lists as they appear in the modern versions, wherein gems appear which were unknown even through the mediaeval period. It may be as well to begin with what we know of Egyptian gems. Egypt produced jasper, feldspar, transparent serpentine, porphyry, basalt, hematite, chert, quartz crystal, and emerald crystal (the last two often confused, both being hexahedral and the colors varying). From Sinai came the copper silicates and carbonates; from Arabia the various garnets, onyx and agates and carnelian, and from Syria likewise; from Media lazuli, also from Badakshan, whence also turquoise. From India and Ceylon, but not until Graeco-Roman times, came the beryls, sapphires, topazes and zircons, and from Turkestan, also very late, jade. Peridots were dug from islands in the Red Sea, but late. Coral and peridots appear in the Periplus as exports from Egypt to India, but coral and pearl came to Egypt also from the Persian Gulf and from Ceylon. All these were late.

The gems of the "covering" in Ezekiel were: *odem*, *pitdah*, *yahalom*; *tarshish*, *shoham*, *yashepheh*; *sappir*, *nophek*, *bareketh*. To these are

added in Exodus: *leshem, shebo, ahlamah.* Their equivalents in the LXX are: *sardios, topazion, onychion; chrysolithos, beryllion, iaspis; sappheiros, anthrax, smaragdos; ligurion, achates, amethystos.* The same stones appear in the Apocalypse, except that for *anthrax*, we have *karchedonios;* for *beryllion, beryllos;* for *ligurion, hyakinthos;* for *achates, chrysoprasos;* and for *onychion, sardonyx.*

Some commentators have attempted to classify these lists according to chemical composition, but this is beside the point, for the ancients knew nothing of chemistry. Color is the principal criterion; but if they are crystals, the number of faces is to be considered; and notable characteristics, such as hardness, should not be forgotten. A discussion of astrological symbolism would lie beyond our present objective; but it is very clear that the three lists can be so rearranged as to fall within an almost identical color-scheme.

The names of the precious stones in the original fall into a sort of jingle:—

> *Odem, pitdah and bareketh,*
> *Nophek, sappir and yahalom,*
> *Leshem, shebo and ahlamah,*
> *Tarshish, shoham and yashepheh.*

Because of the uncertainty of the translations, they are presented herein in the original for better identification between the passages in which they appear. In MT *yahalom* and *yashepheh* have probably changed places.

THE STONES OF THE BREASTPLATE (*1*) "KING OF TYRE" (*2*) AND HOLY CITY (*3*)

1		Bareketh	Pitdah	Odem
	MT	3 ברקת	2 פטדה	1 אדם
		Levi	Simeon	Reuben
	LXX	3 *σμάραγδος*	2 *τοπάζιον*	1 *σάρδιον*
2	MT	9 ברקת	2 פטדה	1 אדם
	LXX	3 *σμάραγδος*	2 *τοπάζιον*	1 *σάρδιον*
3	NT	4 *σμάραγδος*	9 *τοπάζιον*	6 *σάρδιον*
		Andrew	James the Less	Bartholomew
		White (spectrum)	Yellow-Green	Blood-Red
1		Yashepheh	Sappir	Nophek
	MT	12 ישפה	5 ספיר	4 נפך
		Zebulun	Issachar	Judah
	LXX	6 *ἴασπις*	5 *σάπφειρος*	4 *ἄνθραξ*
2	MT	6 ישפה	7 ספיר	8 נפך
	LXX	6 *ἴασπις*	5 *σάπφειρος*	4 *ἄνθρακα*
3	NT	1 *ἴασπις*	2 *σάπφειρος*	3 *καρχηδόνιος*
		Peter	James	John
		Green (Deep)	Blue (Deep)	Red (Deep)
1		Ahlamah	Shebo	Leshem
	MT	9 אחלמה	8 שבו	7 לשם
		Dan	Benjamin	Joseph
	LXX	9 *ἀμέθυστος*	8 *ἀχάτης*	7 *λιγύριον*
2	MT	()	()	()
	LXX	9 *ἀμέθυστος*	8 *ἀχάτης*	7 *λιγύριον*
3	NT	12 *ἀμέθυστος*	10 *χρυσόπρασος*	11 *ὑάκινθος*
		Paul	Thaddeus	Simon Zelotes
		Purple	Gray and White, then veined lt. green	Golden Brown
1		Yahalom	Shoham	Tarshish
	MT	6 יהלם	11 שהם	10 תרשיש
		Asher	Gad	Naphtali
	LXX	12 *ὀνύχιον*	11 *βηρύλλιον*	10 *χρυσόλιθος*
2	MT	3 יהלם	5 שהם	4 תרשיש
	LXX	12 *ὀνύχιον*	11 *βηρύλλιον*	10 *χρυσόλιθος*
3	NT	5 *σαρδόνυξ*	8 *βήρυλλος*	7 *χρυσόλιθος*
		Philip	Thomas	Matthew
		Flesh-Red	Blue-Green	Yellow

Our modern versions are misleading in that they assume the modern meaning for the Greek original, and so produce a breastplate that would exceed the resources of many a monarch, and would be impracticable as well, for the gems could not be engraved by any tool known to the ancients. We must assume a stone large enough to take the name, soft enough to take the graver's tool, and available in the market at the time. The arrangement of Flinders Petrie seems best to meet these requirements:[22]

Hebrew	*LXX*	*Early*	*Late*
Odem	Sardios	Red jasper	Sard
Pitdah	Topazion	Yellow-green serpentine	Peridot
Bareketh	Smaragdos	Quartz crystal	Emerald
Nophek	Anthrax	Garnet—Carbuncle	
Sappir	Sappheiros	Lapis lazuli	
Yashepheh	Iaspis	Dark green jasper	
Leshem	Ligurion	Yellow agate	
Shebo	Achates	Agate, carnelian?	Banded agate
Ahlamah	Amethystos	Amethyst	
Tarshish	Chrysolithos	Yellow jasper	Topaz
Shoham	Beryllion	Green feldspar	Beryl
Yahalom	Onychion	Onyx?	Onyx

For the doubtful onyx of the early arrangement, corundum (emery) and hematite both suggest themselves.

For the *tarshish* Kunz makes the interesting suggestion of the Spanish smoky quartz, which, when heated, changes to a brilliant yellow.[23] This would tend to give it a specific local name.

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[22] Hastings, Dict. of the Bible, art. Precious Stones

[23] Kunz, The Curious Lore of Precious Stones, 297-298; to Dr. Kunz acknowledgment is made for numerous references used in this section.

Returning to our color-scheme, we have:

3 White, with spectrum	2 Yellow-green	1 Blood-Red
6 Green, Deep	5 Blue, Deep	4 Red, Deep
9 Purple	8 Gray and white	7 Golden Brown
12 Flesh-red	11 Blue-green	10 Yellow

Other stones appearing in the Hebrew are:

Hebrew	*LXX*	*Identification*
Bdolakh	Anthrax	Precious: carbuncle? pearl?
Shoham	Prasinos	Sardonyx? beryl?
Ramoth	Rhamoth	Costly: pearl?
Chodecod	Chorchor, Iaspis	Pierced? Coral? Pearl?
Eqedakh	Krystallos	Carbuncle? Crystal?
Shamir	Smiris	Emery, corundum

Except as to the last-named there is no certainty, and the LXX renders *shoham* in Genesis differently from its rendering in Exodus.[24]

The stones appearing first in the Apocalypse are:

Karchedonios (rather than chalkedonios)	Deep red garnet
Sardonyx	Red and white onyx
Chrysoprasos	Green chalcedony
Hyakinthos	Zircon (Our sapphire was included also under this name)

[24] The LXX in Gen. II, 12, thus makes *bdolakh* equivalent to, or possibly a scribe's mistake for *nophek;* and supports the inference that *shoham* in both breastplate and shoulder-buckles, was *beryllion,* that is, a hexahedral crystal.

Yet *shoham* in Exodus, for the shoulder-buckles, is rendered by the LXX as *onychion.* Onyx, in Greek, as *shoham* in Hebrew, means nail, or claw; or anything like a nail. It includes the white part at the end of rose-leaves, as if their nail-mark; a part of the liver; and a veined gem. This might indicate that *shoham* could be a double-tinted crystal.

Numerous passages indicate that one of the stones was a prismatic crystal which refracted light into the hues of the rainbow. *Smaragdos*, *beryllos* and *iaspis* are all named in the Apocalypse as having such properties, but Flinders Petrie's selection of *bareketh*, "flashing", the original of *smaragdos*, and his identification thereof with quartz crystal, are doubtless correct; as also his explanation of the confusion of crystal and emerald, both being hexahedral and varying in color. Pliny describes an eye-glass made for Nero of *smaragdos*, which would have been impossible for emerald. A passage in the Talmud, already quoted, may be taken as naming *tarshish* also, which would be possible if that was the Spanish quartz.[25]

The priest's shoulder-buckles are also to be considered. They were of *shoham*, identified in the breastplate with *beryllion*, feldspar and, later, beryl. Flinders Petrie would have them to be beryls, and Patrick suggests that as each stone bore the name of six tribes and the beryl is a six-sided prism, each face would do for one tribe. But if we follow Josephus, the buckles flashed like the rainbow stone on the breastplate, that is, the crystal; and it is the imperfect, or three-sided crystal, that best refracts the light. Josephus, and the name in the text, may both be wrong. Elsewhere we read of the *shoham* as coming from Havilah, that is, the coast of the Persian Gulf, along with the *bdolakh*, "precious" which our versions render as bdellium, but the

[25] Note 53, page 37

Arabic as pearl. And again, we have *ramoth*, "costly", associated with *chodecod*, "pierced" (?) in such a way as to suggest pearl and coral. Now the same word in Arabic means both coral and pearl, and in the echo of this passage in the Apocalypse we have the Greek *margarita*, pearl; which included both gem and shell. And beryls were not mentioned as Arabian products. On the other hand, onyx, given in our English versions for *shoham*, was received from Arabia; and sardonyx answers for the meaning "nail", if we refer to the finger-nail, and exchanges readily with coral.[26]

Kunz gives the following arrangement of the tribal names with their zodiacal signs:

Judah	Aries
Issachar	Taurus
Zebulum	Gemini
Reuben	Cancer
Simeon	Leo
Gad	Virgo
Ephraim	Libra
Manasseh	Scorpio
Benjamin	Sagittarius
Dan	Capricorn
Naphtali	Aquarius
Asher	Pisces

[26] Ben Sira (Ecclus. XXIV, 15) has "onyx" for the onycha of the incense, and permits the inference that this meant rose-leaves, by connecting the rose with the cedar, cypress and olive of the temple (XXIV, 13). But it is more probable that onycha was the claw-like operculum of a mollusc, still used in Egypt for fumigation. (Masterman, in Hastings, *op. cit.* 769.)

Kunz also arranges the stones in their zodiacal order as follows:

Aquarius,	Jan. 21-Feb. 21	Garnet
Pisces,	Feb. 21-Mar. 21	Amethyst
Aries,	Mar. 21-Apr. 20	Bloodstone
Taurus,	Apr. 20-May 21	Sapphire
Gemini,	May 21-June 21	Agate
Cancer,	June 21-July 22	Emerald
Leo,	July 22-Aug. 22	Onyx
Virgo,	Aug. 22-Sept. 22	Carnelian
Libra,	Sept. 22-Oct. 23	Chrysolite
Scorpio,	Oct. 23-Nov. 21	Beryl
Sagittarius,	Nov. 21-Dec. 21	Topaz
Capricorn,	Dec. 21-Jan. 21	Ruby

And he quotes from a Jewish commentary the following arrangement of the tribal standards in the desert:[27]

Odem	Red	Reuben
Pitdah	Green	Simeon
Bareketh	White, black, red	Levi
Nophek	Sky-blue	Judah
Sappir	Glistening black	Issachar
Yahalom	White	Zebulun
Leshem	Sapphire-color	Dan
Shebo	Gray	Gad
Ahlamah	Wine-color	Naphtali
Tarshish	Pearl-color	Asher
Shoham	Very black	Joseph
Yashepheh	Colors of all the stones	Benjamin

The children of Israel, we are informed, when they were encamped in the wilderness, pitched "every man by his standard, with ensigns according to their fathers' houses."[28] This list pre-

[27] Midrash Bemidbar Rabba, ed. Aug. Wünsche, Leipzig 1885, pp. 15-16 (a rabbinical commentary on Numbers)

[28] Num. II, 2

serves the colors of the breastplate, albeit in some confusion, and confirms the prismatic hues from one of the stones by the flag that had the "colors of all the stones."

It was the opinion of St. Augustine[29] that the Urim and Thummim were stones that changed color and so enabled the priest to prophesy good or ill to the congregation. And Josephus[30] says that the pectoral and onyxes emitted a light, as often as God was present at the sacrifices. This may give some reason to think that the Urim and Thummim followed the same course as the stones of the breastplate, precious stones of the same color being substituted, as they reached the market, for the earlier and less precious varieties. Prismatic crystals or chatoyant gems might thus have taken the place of opaque pebbles. But the most satisfactory explanation of the Urim and Thummim is that which would make them stones of light and dark

[29] Opera Omnia, Patrologiae Latinae ed. Migne, III, 1, 637

[30] Ant. Jud. 3, 8, 9 (37-95 A. D.) Cf. Plutarch, De Defectu Oraculorum XLI. Commentators have called this passage "mere antiquarian conjecture," but it is borne out by the incantation text quoted by Fossey, wherein the breastplate was worn by the Assyrian king, and the glow was supposed to come through the high priest of Bel; whether by reflected light or otherwise, it would be fruitless here to guess.

In Jewish symbolism, "the Crown contained within itself the plan of the universe in its infinity of time and space, in its endless varieties of form, color and movement....The Crown is ofttimes styled the 'White Head'—'head' denoting the idea of source, and 'white' being the blend of all the colors (just as the Crown is the blend of all forms in the cosmos)."

—Abelson, Jewish Mysticism, 147:

(see also p. 49, note 13; p. 53, note 29).

color; and that the answer, yes or no, was given when the priest put his hand into the ephod and drew out one or the other from its place of concealment.[31] The conjecture may be admissible, that the saying in the Apocalypse, "I am the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end", contains an allusion to the Urim and Thummim, and suggests that Christ as judge of the quick and the dead assumed the oracular function of the priesthood. The various versions give their names as "light and truth", or "light and perfection", but it would be better to translate "light and completion"—that is, "dawn and dusk", "light and dark", whence it is but a step to "beginning and end", or, availing of the Greek alphabet, "alpha and omega".[32]

Ben Sira gives the following description of the sanctuary:

> He exalted Aaron, a holy man like unto him, even his brother of the tribe of Levi. He established for him an everlasting covenant, and gave him the priesthood of the people. He beautified him with comely ornaments, and girded him about with a robe of glory. He clothed him with the perfection of exultation; and strengthened him with apparel of honour, the linen breeches, the long robe, and the ephod.. And he compassed him with pomegranates of gold, and with many bells round about, to send forth a sound as he went, to make a sound that might be heard in the temple, for a memorial to the children of his people; with a holy garment, with gold and blue and purple, the work of the embroiderer; with an oracle of judgment, even with the Urim and Thummim; with twisted scarlet, the work of the craftsman; with precious stones graven like a signet, in a setting of gold, the

[31] Carus, Oracle of Yahveh, pp. 12-14

[32] אורים φωτισμοί A
תמים τελειώσεις Ω

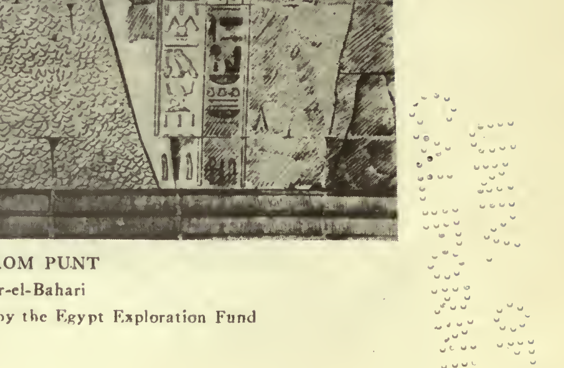
work of the jeweller, for a memorial engraved in writing, after the number of tribes of Israel; with a crown of gold upon the mitre, having graven on it, as on a signet, HOLINESS, an ornament of honor, a work of might, the desires of the eyes, goodly and beautiful.[33]

Josephus gives an explanation of the symbolism of the sanctuary, which seems composite of both early and late ideas; an earlier scheme of five colors (blue, purple, scarlet, white and gold) and a later scheme of the zodiac, which was current after the Alexandrian conquests:

When Moses distinguished the tabernacle into three parts, and allowed two of them to the priests, as a place accessible and common, he denoted the land and the sea, for these are accessible to all; but when he set apart the third division for God, it was because heaven is inaccessible to men. When he ordered twelve loaves to be set on the table, he denoted the year, as distinguished into so many months. When he made the candlestick of seventy parts, he secretly intimated the decani, or seventy divisions of the planets: and as to the seven lamps upon the candlesticks, they referred to the course of the planets, of which that is the number; and for the veils, which were composed of four things, they declared the four elements, for the fine linen was proper to signify the earth, because the flax grows out of the earth; the purple signified the sea, because that color is dyed by the blood of a shell-fish; the blue is fit to signify the air; and the scarlet will naturally be an indication of fire. Now the vestment of the high-priest being made of linen, signified the earth; the blue denoted the sky, being like lightning in its pomegranates and in the noise of its bells resembling thunder; and the ephod showed that God had made the universe of four elements; and as for the gold interwoven, I suppose it related to the splendor by which all things are enlightened. He also appointed the breastplate to be placed in the middle of the ephod, to resemble the earth, for that has the very middle place in the universe; and the girdle which encompassed the high-priest round, signified the ocean, which goes round about, and includes the world.

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[33]Ecclus. XLV, 6-12

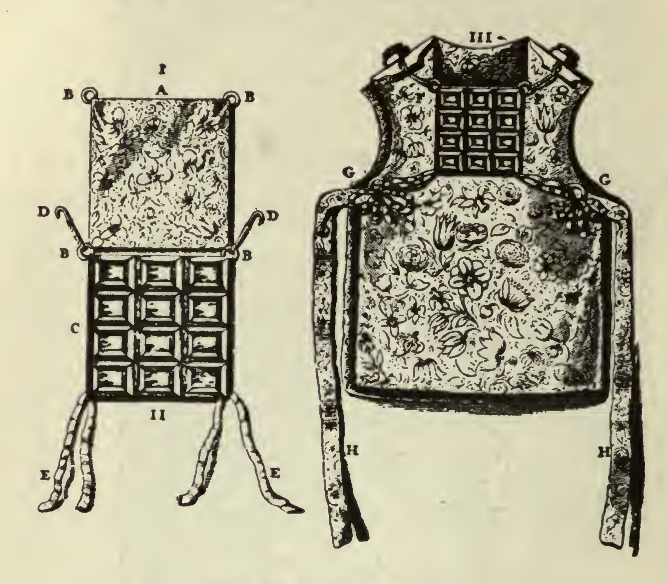


MEASURING THE HEAPS OF INCENSE FROM PUNT

A Relief in the XVIIIth Dynasty Temple at Deir-el-Bahari

Reproduced from Naville, *The Temple of Deir-el-Bahari.* Published by the Egypt Exploration Fund

THE HIGH PRIEST'S BREASTPLATE AND EPHOD



I, II, THE BREASTPLATE UNFOLDED

A, lower fold; *B, B, B, B*, rings for attachment to Ephod; *C*, the twelve gems in their settings; *D, D*, hooks for attachment to shoulder; *E, E*, bands to pass through rings in Ephod.

III. EPHOD WITH BREASTPLATE FOLDED AND ATTACHED

G, G, rings through which pass bands of Breastplate; *H, H*, bands of Ephod. From Johann Braun's *Vestitus Sacerdotum Hebraeorum*, Amsterdam, 1680.

Reproduced from Kunz, *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones*. J. B. Lippincott Co., publishers.

Compare Testament of Levi, VIII, 2-3:

And I saw seven men in white raiment saying unto us: Arise, put on the robe of the priesthood, and the crown of righteousness, and the breastplate of understanding, and the garment of truth, and the plate of faith, and the turban of the head, and the ephod of prophecy. And they severally carried these things and put them on me, and said unto me: From henceforth become a priest of the Lord, thou and thy seed forever.

Each of the sardonyxes declares to us the sun and the moon; those I mean that were in the nature of buttons on the high-priests' shoulders. And for the twelve stones, whether we understand by them the months, or the like number of the signs of that circle which the Greeks call the Zodiac, we shall not be mistaken in their meaning. The mitre, which was of a blue color, seems to me to denote heaven; for how otherwise could the name of God be inscribed upon it? It was also illustrated with a crown of gold, because of that splendor with which God is pleased.[34]

The gems considered in this section may be tabulated for convenience as follows:[35]

Jasper	Silica	Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor
Onyx, sardonyx	"	Arabia
Agate	"	Egypt, Arabia
Carnelian	"	Arabia, India
Chrysoprase	"	Asia Minor
Chalcedony	"	Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor
Rock Crystal	"	Egypt, Syria, Arabia
Amethyst	"	Syria
Smoky quartz	"	Spain
Chert rock flint	Silica	Egypt
Jade, hornblende	Silicate of calcium and magnesium, etc.	Turkestan; varieties in Egypt
Serpentine	Silicate of magnesium	Egypt
Feldspar	Silicate of aluminum, with potassium, sodium and calcium	Egypt
Garnet, carbuncle hyacinth	Silicate of iron and and aluminum	Egypt, Syria, India
Beryl, emerald	Silicate of aluminium and beryllium	Egypt, India

[34] Antiq. Jud. iii, 7

[35] Compiled in part from G. F. Herbert Smith, Gem Stones, London, 1912

Peridot	Silicate of magnesium and iron	Egypt
Topaz	Silicate of aluminium	India, Ceylon
Chrysocolla	Silicate of copper	Sinai
Malachite	Carbonate of copper	Sinai
Corundum, sapphire, ruby	Oxide of aluminium	Naxos, India, Ceylon
Chrysolite, chrysoberyl, cat's eye	Aluminate of beryllium	India, Ceylon
Lapis lazuli	Phosphate of aluminium, with iron and magnesium	Media, Badakshan
Turquoise	Phosphate of aluminium, with iron and copper	Persia
Hematite	Oxide of iron	Egypt, Arabia, Nubia, Syria, Asia Minor
Obsidian	Volcanic glass: quartz and orthoclase with mica or hornblende	Egypt, Red Sea coast

XIII

EXODUS 25, 26, 28, 29, 30 *NUMBERS* 4	*EZEKIEL* 27, 28	*REVELATION* 18, 21
Gold	Gold	Gold
Ark	Sheba	
Table, vessels	Raamah	
Curtains		
Boards		
Veil		
Screen		
Ephod		
Breastplate		
Mitre-plate		
Silver	Silver	Silver
Boards	Tarshish	
Veil		
Hangings		
Screen		
Brass	Brass	Brass
Tent	Javan	
Screen	Tubal	
Altar, vessels, &c.	Meshech	
Court		
Blue	Blue	
Curtains	Isles of Elishah	
Veil		
Screen		
Ephod		
Breastplate		
Purple	Purple	Purple
Curtains	Isles of Elishah	
Veil	Edom	
Screen		
Ephod		
Breastplate		

Scarlet		Scarlet
Curtains		
Veil		
Screen		
Ephod		
Breastplate		
Fine Linen	Fine Linen	Fine Linen
Curtains	Egypt	
Veil	Edom	
Screen		
Hangings		
Ephod		
Breastplate		
Goats' Hair	Goats	Silk
Tent	Arabia, Kedar	
Rams' skins dyed red	Sheepskins	
Covering of tent	Damascus	
Seal skins		
Outer covering		
Acacia wood		
Ark		
Table		
Boards		
Altar		
Shewbread	Cakes: honey	
	Judah, Israel	
GENESIS 2		
Shoulder pieces		
Bdolakh	*Ramoth*	Pearl
Shoham	*Chodecod*	
	Edom	
Precious stones:	Precious stones:	Precious stones:

Odem	*Odem*	*Sardios*	*Sardios*
Pitdah	*Pitdah*	*Topazion*	*Topazion*
Bareketh	*Bareketh*	*Smaragdos*	*Smaragdos*
Nophek	*Nophek*	*Anthrax*	*Karchedonios*
Sappir	*Sappir*	*Sappheiros*	*Sappheiros*
Yashepheh	*Yashepheh*	*Iaspis*	*Iaspis*
Leshem	*	*Ligurion*	*Hyakinthos*
Shebo	*	*Achates*	*Chrysoprasos*
Ahlamah	*	*Amethystos*	*Amethystos*

Tarshish	*Tarshish*	*Chrysolithos*	*Chrysolithos*
Shoham	*Shoham*	*Beryllion*	*Beryllos*
Yahalom	*Yahalom*	*Onychion*	*Sardonyx*
Urim and Thummim			*Iaspis* stone most precious

Bullocks		Cattle
Offering		
Rams	Rams	
Offering	Arabia, Kedar	
Lambs	Lambs	Sheep
Offering	Arabia, Kedar	
Oil (olive)	Oil	Oil
Light	Judah, Israel	
Offering		
Anointing oil		
Fine wheat flour	Wheat	Wheat, Fine flour
Offering	Judah, Israel	
Wine	Wine of Helbon	Wine
Offering	Damascus	
Myrrh		
Anointing oil		
Incense		
Cinnamon		
Anointing oil		
Calamus	Calamus	Ointment
Anointing oil	Uzal	
Cassia	Cassia	
Anointing oil	Uzal	
Storax	Spices	Spice
Incense	Sheba, Raamah	
Onycha		Incense
Incense		
Galbanum	Storax, balm	
Incense	Judah, Israel	
Frankincense		
Incense		
1 CHRON. 29 (Temple)		
Iron	Iron	Iron
	Uzal	
Marble		Marble

Cedar	Cedar	Thyine wood
	Lebanon	
Cypress	Cypress	
	Senir	
Olive wood	Thyine wood	Precious wood
	Kittim	Vessels
1 KINGS 10		
(Palace)		
Ivory	Ivory	Ivory
Ebony	Ebony	Vessels
Throne	Dedan	
Raiment	Gorgeous Fabrics	
	Haran, Canneh, Eden	
Armor	Shield and Helmet	
	Persia, Lud, Put	
Horses	Horses	Horses
	Togarmah	
Mules	Mules	
	Togarmah	
(Purification)		
NUMBERS 31		
Gold		
Silver		
Brass		
Iron	Iron	
Tin	Tin	
Lead	Lead	
(Spoil Division)	Tarshish	
NUMBERS 31		
Persons	Persons of men	Slaves
	Javan, Tubal, Meshech	Souls of men
Beeves		Cattle
Asses	Beasts of burden	
	Dedan	
Sheep		
(Army of Solomon)		
1 KINGS 10		
Chariots		Chariots
Horsemen	Horsemen	
	Togarmah	

XIV

The interpretation herein suggested leads to inquiry concerning the date of the passages considered. Modern criticism has established the existence of separate elements in the Old Testament. The Mosaic, the Deuteronomic and the Levitical laws reflect different epochs in the history of Israel; the Jahvist, the Elohist and the Priestly writers restate that history from different points of view and with different objects. There has been a tendency to regard the P document as lacking in authority because it is post-exilic in its final form. But it would be nearer the facts of history to regard it as resting upon a traditional basis that antedates the other documents as the sanctuaries of Israel antedated the kings; as containing a discussion of the course of royalty from the priestly standpoint; and as going on with the national record after the kingdom had fallen and when the priesthood was the only remaining native authority. We must expect to find in such a document very early and very late matter in a sort of stratification. But, as Driver observes, "the laws of P, even when they included later elements, were still referred to Moses—no doubt because in its basis and origin Hebrew legislation was actually derived from him, and was only modified gradually."[1]

As ceremonial changes less readily than law, so we may assume that the ceremonial element

[1] Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, 154.

in the P document contains a large share of the early tradition; and that it will yield, upon examination of its details, useful results.

While the priestly tradition has been presented herein purposely in its order of appearance in the traditional text, the true order of events becomes clear by beginning with Ezekiel and working backward. For with him the continuity of service at the sanctuary is broken, and the thoughts of the captive are directed to a study of the past with a view to correcting its errors in the future. This means that the past is spread out in review, albeit in idealized form; its glories magnified and its crudities forgotten.

To arrive at a date for this remarkably consistent tradition, three alternatives may be considered. The political cryptogram may be wholly post-exilic, of the time of Darius or one of the Seleucidae; the politics may be of the time of Nebuchadrezzar and the commercial details a later interpolation for another purpose; or the text may be as Ezekiel wrote it, in the reign of Nebuchadrezzar. Were it necessary to accept all the rabbinical interpretations of the names of commercial substances, which have found their way into our modern versions, there would be grounds for bringing the whole story down to the Seleucid period. But it is not necessary, for the interpreters have missed many allusions and their conclusions are not sound. The theory of a series of interpolations in the text of Ezekiel is not easily maintained. What would become of the stories of the foundling and the sisters, without the details of their adornment borrowed from

the lost glories of Israel? But if we retain the details, we must admit their allusions to the past. We conclude, therefore, that the text is historical, and remarkably free from extraneous matter. The political cryptogram fits the international situation for the oppressive Chaldean empire; but for the tolerant Persian, not at all.

We have seen how, in Ezekiel's parable of Jerusalem the foundling, the original reference to the fabrics of the sanctuary was lost by rabbinical interpretation that remembered the wanton but forgot that she personified the city.[2] The same process may be observed in a similar passage in Isaiah. In his third chapter[3] the prophet describes the humiliation to come upon Jerusalem for her unfaithfulness:

> Because the daughters of Zion are haughty,
> And walk with stretched-forth necks
> And wanton eyes,
> Walking and mincing as they go,
> And making a tinkling with their feet;

and he tells how all her finery shall be torn from her, "and utterly bereft she shall sit upon the ground." He lists the finery in full detail of feminine jewels and apparel, closing with a phrase rendered from MT as "the gauze robes, and the fine linen, and the turbans, and the mantles." But if we turn to the same passage in the LXX, we must translate "the fine linen, and the blue, and the scarlet, and the linen with gold and blue interwoven"; and by the sub-

[2] See note, "Silk," pp. 53-54 [3] Isa. III, 23 For bell-ringing to ward off evil spirits, cf. Frazer, The Magic Art, ii, 343-344.

stitution of a single word in the Greek,[4] we obtain "the purple, and the blue, and the scarlet, and the linen with gold and blue interwoven", clearly an allusion to the fabrics of the sanctuary. This enables us to infer when the allusion was lost. Corruption of the text, begun in the LXX, has proceeded so far in MT as to miss the point of the story, and late interpretation has concerned itself with a living, not a symbolic wanton. Isaiah was concerned about political misfortune to befall his people. His interpreters, centuries later, had eyes alone for his picture of a frail woman; whose feet tinkled from the bells of the priest's robes.

But this was the real Isaiah, and the text, if correctly restored, carries us back into preexilic times, and well before the Deuteronomic reform. It is an allusion to the temple of Solomon. And Ezekiel, a century later, uses the same symbol.

The substances mentioned by Ezekiel, if considered in the text rather than the interpretations, are all such as entered into the commerce of his time. With few exceptions, they had appeared for centuries in the markets of Babylonia and Egypt. They were no new enrichments made available to the sanctuary by the discovery of new markets. The lists in the earlier books agree with those of Ezekiel in all essentials. Where they disagree, they contain later matter, in connection with equipment that may be ascribed to archaistic revival rather than

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[4] *πορφύρα* for *βύσσινα.*

original specification. Where Ezekiel has cassia and calamus, the Priestly writer in Exodus calls for cassia, calamus and sweet cinnamon; but these were for the anointing oil, which kept on gathering new ingredients, if we take the word of Josephus; and it could change, if we follow Ben Sira, who combines cinnamon with aspalathus. Where Ezekiel has a nine-stone breastplate, Exodus has a twelve-stone arrangement. Without asserting the correctness of Ezekiel's text, it is significant that the Exodus list contains one stone which, perhaps, did not reach the Egyptian market until considerably later—the golden stone of Tarshish. "Perhaps" is said advisedly, for the "tarshish" stone may have been a "broken" crystal, for producing prismatic rays. But the breastplate, in its final form, is relatively late. Breastplates there were in abundance in the temples of Egypt, but nothing so elaborate as this, which seems reminiscent of the astrology of Chaldea.

Of the sanctuaries of Israel we have descriptions in reverse order. Of the second temple we are told only that it was finer than the first; of the first we are given the materials but few measurements; of the tabernacle we have materials and measurements to the minutest detail. The exact opposite is what we should expect, were the accounts historical. But for Ezekiel's ideal temple we have careful measurements, and an emphasis laid upon the inner sanctuary which the builders of the first temple had not observed. For the rebuilding after the exile Ezekiel and his followers, from Haggai and

Zechariah to Ezra and Nehemiah, sought the sanction of history in an idealized tabernacle. The descriptions were added to the earlier books rather than to those of their own time. The tabernacle of Exodus XXVI-XXX is a very different thing from that of Exodus XXXIII, which must be regarded as the fact, as the other is the ideal of a later age. But the idealized description is not without value, for it translates into portable form the structure and equipment of Solomon's temple, even to its brazen altar, curiously inappropriate in the tabernacle.[5]

The real "tabernacle of dwelling" in the desert was pitched apart from the camp, with Joshua as its sole and non-Levitical attendant.[6] Within it was the ark of the Lord. There were, probably, the high place, pillar and stock, and the table for the presence-bread and incense; the oracle, the ephod and the Urim and Thummim. Thither every one that sought the Lord might go, to make his offering, of cereal and drink, which he shared with the Lord; to bring his sacrifices; to consult the oracle and receive judgment. There were such sanctuaries in every town of Israel, and for their service the Levites

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[5] Cf. Kennedy in Hastings, Dict. of the Bible, arts. Tabernacle, Temple, High Place, Sacrifice, etc.

[6] Ex. XXXIII, 11.

And, assuming that manifestations were in fact produced, it was an adequate container of psychic force, with its curtains of fine white linen, hangings of dark goat's hair, covering of rams' skins dyed red, and outer covering of dark sealskins, impervious to light, wind and moisture. Cf. Luke IX, 33.

were set apart. The temple of Solomon at Jerusalem was the greatest of the sanctuaries, but not for centuries did it supplant the rest. Then came the reform that abolished all the other high places, centralized the worship of Israel in the temple, reduced the Levites to minor service, raised up the priestly guild and set the sanctuary apart from the people. The captivity followed soon after; and Ezekiel, himself a hereditary member of the priestly guild, devoted that time of trial to a study of the ancient institutions, to determine wherein they had so fallen short of the divine ideal as to bring down upon Israel the divine wrath. In the words of Kennedy, "we are dealing, not with historical fact, but with the product of religious idealism; and surely these devout idealists of the Exile should command our admiration as they deserve our gratitude. If the Tabernacle is an ideal, it is truly an ideal worthy of Him for whose worship it seeks to provide. Nor must it be forgotten, that in reproducing in portable form, as they unquestionably do, the several parts and appointments of the Temple of Solomon, including even its brazen altar, the author or authors of the Tabernacle believed, in all good faith, that they were reproducing the essential features of the Mosaic sanctuary, of which the Temple was supposed to be the replica and the legitimate successor."[7] And who shall say, as all things made on earth are but imperfect forms of a greater Idea, that these successive sanctuaries

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[7] Kennedy, in Hastings, op. cit. 888.

are not the developing manifestations of a "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens"?[8]

The point of interest in Ezekiel's allegories is that they contain the materials of the pre-exilic worship, with such allusions as to prove that they were matters of common knowledge. They indicate also that the idealizing of the earlier worship was in the way of dignity, ornateness and size, rather than essentials of sanctuary and sacrifice. While the ideal Tabernacle, with its improbable dimensions, its central position in an encampment of impossible extent, and its array of priests and Levites guarding the sanctuary from the people, is beyond acceptance as historical, yet the materials themselves are such as the followers of Moses might have been expected to put into their "tabernacle of dwelling" and their descendants to translate, with a minimum of necessary change in the enlargement, into permanent form in the temple of Solomon.

These materials were known to the whole people, and there could have been no violent break between the old and the new; for the second temple was seen by "old men that had seen the first house standing on its foundations", and they "wept with a loud voice, when this house was before their eyes; and many shouted aloud for joy."[9] Although there were many of

[8] As the Talmud puts it, "Seven things were formed before the creation of the world: The Law, Repentance, Paradise, Gehenna, the Throne of Glory, the Temple, and the name of the Messiah." P'sachim, 54, 1

[9] Ezra III, 12

the younger generation, when the Law was read, to whom the Levites were obliged to give the sense, that they might "understand the reading",[10] there were enough of the older generation present to insure the essential continuity of the tradition.[11] The Priestly editor, it is true, brings new emphasis to ceremonial institutions; but it does not follow that they are all post-exilic. Their elaboration is progressive and even late, but their origin, in many instances, is of high antiquity.[12]

How faithfully the tradition was preserved may be seen in a late text like that of Ben Sira:

> I was exalted like a cedar on Lebanon,
> And as a cypress tree on the mountains of Hermon;
> I was exalted like a palm tree on the seashore,
> And as rose plants in Jericho,
> And as a fair olive tree in the plain;
> And I was exalted as a plane tree.
>
> As cinnamon and aspalathus,
> I have given a scent of perfumes;
> And as choice myrrh,
> I spread abroad a pleasant odour;
> As galbanum, and onyx, and stacte,
> And as the fume of frankincense in the tabernacle.[13]

The ignorance and primitive character of the Hebrews of the Exodus, and their subsequent isolation from the thought and action of their neighbors, have been over-emphasized in modern

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[10] Neh. VIII, 8: *i.e.* they had not been taught Hebrew.

[11] Cf. Edghill in Hastings, *op. cit.*, art. Law, 8: The Priestly Code.

[12] Cf. Harper, The Work of the Old Testament Priests.

[13] Ecclus. XXIV, 13-15

criticism. Civilization and sacred ceremonial had reached an advanced stage in Egypt before the sojourn of the Hebrews in that land. The sacrifices and offerings of Ramses III, of the Twentieth Dynasty, are preserved in the Papyrus Harris, now in the British Museum. The English version fills 120 printed pages; exceeding in length any similar list in the Old Testament, and including a greater variety of treasured substances. This document dates from the 12th century B. C.[14] Nineteenth Dynasty temples, covering the period of the Hebrew exodus, display sculptured hieroglyphic records including practically every substance mentioned in the Old Testament ritual.[15] Eighteenth Dynasty temples give records of the 15th century B. C.,[16] telling of Punt expeditions which were on a larger scale and brought back a greater variety of treasured cargo than the Ophir voyages ascribed to Solomon in the 10th century B. C. There are hieroglyphic records of Punt expeditions as early as the Fifth Dynasty, 28th century B. C.[17]

The Hebrews had been in personal contact with Egyptian civilization and ceremonial.[18] The records of their own ceremonial specify almost nothing which had not been reduced to

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[14] Breasted, Ancient Records of Egypt, IV, 151-412

[15] Ibid., III, 251-617

[16] Ibid., II, 246-295

[17] Ibid., I, 161

[18] Cf. Naville, The Store City of Pithom (Egypt Exploration Fund) and Ex. I, 11

writing in Egypt before their departure. There is no reason to doubt that Ezekiel, using materials of the ceremonial to cloak a prophecy of doom upon an oppressor, selected them from a tradition wherewith his people were fully acquainted.

Priests came before kings.[19] The oracle, the service and the annals of the sanctuary preceded the law and the prophets. Man consults his gods before he codifies their decrees.

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[19] Cf. Gilmore, Animism, XV.

APPENDIX

Hashmal and *Theios*: A suggested interpretation

In the sixth century B. C. the Jews were being held in Babylonia as conquered captives, and Ezekiel was assuring them of the restoration of their independence and the downfall of their oppressor before the wrath of God. This he had to do in language not easily understood by Babylonian officers. In his first chapter he describes the "living creatures" about the Throne of Heaven, whose voices sounded like "an army of horsemen", and whose interest in the Jewish captives was doubtless set forth more at length in secret sessions; for, according to the Talmud, that chapter was not to be read until a man had attained to years of discretion, nor its meaning divulged. The purpose, we may be sure, was the restoration of the kingdom.

The "living creatures" appeared from whirlwind, cloud, fire, and a brightness like "amber"; they were ranged around a Throne, as of "sapphire", with the color of "amber" and fire round about. In the Hebrew these three "appearances" are *sappir*, *esh* and *hashmal*. This *hashmal* is a word not elsewhere found; it seems to have some connection with a root meaning "to shine", but Jewish commentators explain it as an anagram or artificial word, made from several, *hayot esh memalleloth*, "the living creatures of fire, speaking"; and this in turn is said to be the "abode of the Shechinah (Divine Presence) where there is the still small voice". *Hashmal* has the traditional surface meaning of "golden", and is rendered in AV "amber", RV "electrum". In the Septuagint the three "appearances" are rendered *sappheiros*, *pyr* and *ēlektron*. Here the translators did not go below the surface for their equivalent to *hashmal*.

In the first century A. D. the Jews had been almost annihilated and their Temple again destroyed, this time by the Romans, and an obscure Jewish sect was denying the authority of the Roman Emperor as representative of divinity on earth, commanding the worship of his subjects. The Romans held this doctrine seditious; but it spread, and its supporters proclaimed the fall of their oppressor before the wrath of God. They had to do this in language not easily understood by Roman officers; and the art of the detective had progressed since Babylonian days. One of their first books to embody this political prophecy was written largely in the words of Ezekiel; it was entitled The Apocalypse of John. In the fourth chapter the Throne reappears, with the four "living creatures"; and in the ninth chapter four angels, leading an "army of horsemen" to the destruction of the "third part of men". These warriors wore

breastplates of fire and "hyacinth" and "brimstone"; so AV and RV. In the Greek, *pyrinous, hyakinthinous* and *theiōdeis.* These are descriptive adjectives, and our English versions omit the word 'appearance' which they contain, and which the Greek carries down from the text of Ezekiel. Underlying the adjectives are the nouns *pyr, hyakinthos* and *theion. Pyr* is the same as *esh*; *hyakinthos* stands for *sappir,* both being blue; there remains *theion,* 'brimstone', representing *hashmal.* So far as color goes it may do so, for sulphur is golden yellow, like amber or electrum; but it too avoids the concealed meaning of *hashmal.* Here, however, while holding to the color, the Seer of Patmos has found a way to express his political message; for *theion* is also the accusative of the adjective *theios* meaning 'divine' or 'miraculous', which very well represents *hashmal.*

The four angels and their army of horsemen are to destroy the 'third part of men', that is, Rome. The remaining two-thirds may be understood as the other world powers of that day, Parthia and Armenia, or possibly India. The horsemen wear the breastplate of divine power and approval, *theios.* Who are they? Here appears a coincidence so remarkable that it is hard to think it accidental. Greek letters were used instead of numerals, which were not yet invented, and numerical codes were frequently used to embody and preserve teaching in many lines. There is reason to think that such codes were in use by the early Christians especially. Later, they passed into the philosophical fancies of the Gnostics and were swept aside; but in the first century they were a political necessity. *Iēsous* was 888 and Nero 666[1]; and Roman officers understood the significance well enough to destroy the Christian books as seditious. Bearing in mind, therefore, that *hashmal* was the Voice of the Ineffable actuating the warriors of heaven who were to overcome the power of evil at Babylon and that *theios* was the word chosen to represent it as against the power of evil at Rome, we find that *theios* is equivalent numerically to 294, and that 294 is also the equivalent of *ekklēsia.* That is, the Church of Christ was to destroy the Romans, whose hands were still red with the blood of the slaughtered hosts in Palestine. The avenging army, sent forth from the Divine Presence, was the Church Militant; and the Christians on earth were to share the fruits of victory. Such interpretation seems, at any rate, to meet the conditions of the time.

Ezekiel and John spread their messages despite the spies of the autocrat. When the autocrat himself became the patron of the Church, cryptic utterance was no longer necessary, and its rules and devices were forgotten. But it is to these very devices that we owe most of the "commercial chapters" of Scripture.

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[1] Cf. Bond and Lea, The Greek Cabala, Oxford 1917; The Apostolic Gnosis, 1919; Begley, Biblia Cabalistica.

The following abbreviations are used:

MT, Masoretic Text

LXX, Septuagint

Vulg., Vulgate

DV, Douay Version

AV, Authorized Version

RV, Revised Version

JR, Jewish Revision (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917).

Bertholet, Das Buch Hesekiel (Kurzer Hand-Commenttar z. A. T.) Leipzig 1897

Kraetzschmar, Das Buch Ezechiel (Hand-kommentar z. A. T.) Göttingen 1900

Cheminant, Les Prophéties d'Ezéchiel contre Tyr, Paris 1912

JRAS, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society

JAOS, Journal of the American Oriental Society

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